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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Kozyrev, Bartholomew Hold Disarmament Talks

LD1701184692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1628 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jan (TASS)—Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, today received Reginald Bartholomew, U.S. first under secretary of state who is in Moscow for consultations on a range of topical issues dealing with nuclear disarmament and security.

During their conversation there was discussion of ways of extending Russian-American cooperation on the problems of ensuring nuclear security and the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems. There was an exchange of views on the existing system of nuclear arms control. A broad area was noted in which the positions of the sides coincide on the above-mentioned problems.

On the American side, particular note was made in a positive manner of the way in which the Commonwealth participant states are tackling the problems of single control of nuclear weapons, compliance with international arms limitation and disarmament accords, and ensuring a single military-strategic space.

Mutual satisfaction was expressed with the outcome of the consultations, in which a broad spectrum of authoritative specialists from both sides took part. The results of the informative and open exchange of views facilitate active cooperation between the United States and Russia in destroying nuclear munitions and in the safe handling of nuclear weapons. This means, in essence, a shift to a new quality in Russo-American relations—from the previous rigid and essentially confrontational parity in the military sphere, to parity in parallel and joint efforts to implement measures to strengthen strategic stability and to cut back superfluous military structures.

During the conversation, attention was paid to certain aspects of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's upcoming departure for the New York summit of UN Security Council heads of state, and also to his working meeting with the U.S. President.

Discuss Army Stabilization

LD1701184892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Control over nuclear weapons, their nonproliferation, prospects for arms cuts, and fulfillment of agreements reached in this area—these questions were at the center of attention at a meeting that took place today between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Reginald Bartholomew, first U.S. under secretary of state.

The meeting took place after the completion of Russian-American consultations on disarmament problems, which lasted three days. I can state with satisfaction that significant progress has been reached on these questions, something which I will report in Washington, said Reginald Bartholomew after the meeting ended. He also expressed satisfaction over the decisions adopted by leaders of independent states in Minsk in this sphere, and he stated that they are moving the process in the right direction.

In his turn the Russian Minister noted that the talks have a bearing on preparations for the upcoming trip, at the end of January, to Washington by Russian President Boris Yeltsin. We think, he said, that this meets our interests.

Andrey Kozyrev also pointed to the need for stabilization in the Army after which, in his view, one will be able to advance along the road of reforming it and reducing military expenditure.

Describing the level of mutual understanding with the American side on these questions, the leader of Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs stressed that there is a feeling of partnership, and I think that we can go gradually from partnership to friendly relations.

Test Launch Raises Doubts Over Kazakh Control

PM2001163692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Vladimir Nadein report: "Moscow Launches Missile From Kazakhstan, But Notifies Washington, Not Alma-Ata"]

[Text] Two days after the closure of the All-Army Officers Assembly, an episode occurred which will attract attention both outside the Commonwealth of Independent States and, most importantly, among the governments of the newly emerged independent states. I am talking about the launch of an SS-19 ballistic missile from the territory of Kazakhstan 20 December, the first report of which was published in THE WASHINGTON POST the other day.

THE WASHINGTON POST commentators Evans and Novak published an article on the problem of control of nuclear arms in the former Soviet republics. It says, in particular: "The White House believes that a test launch of an SS-19 ICBM capable of carrying six nuclear warheads took place in the new independent state of Kazakhstan 20 December, which is a gross violation of the Treaty on the Reduction of Strategic Offensive Arms (START) signed last July between the United States and the Soviet Union. This missile test constitutes a danger to peace. Who gave the order to carry out the launch? Is the system of control of Soviet strategic missile forces really in the hands of the Russian authorities in Moscow? Could the Kazakh leaders in Alma-Ata have pressed the button despite the agreement between the former Soviet republics? None of the problems that have arisen in connection with the breakup of the Soviet Union worries American and Western politicians as seriously as the future of the huge nuclear arsenals of the former superpower."

"Nothing of this kind has happened or could have happened on the territory of Kazakhstan," Lieutenant

General S.K. Nurmagambetov, chairman of the Republic of Kazakhstan Defense Committee, said in reply to the editorial office's question. "All this is the invention of idle journalists, from start to finish. Since the government of Kazakhstan knows of no such launch, that means that there was none. I simply cannot imagine that in the present situation, when the problems of sovereignty are particularly sensitive, any of the former Union departments—even including the military department—would dare to violate the rights of an independent state so patently."

However, in answer to a supplementary question, the chairman of the republic defense committee admitted that Kazakhstan does not have the technical facilities to monitor [prokontrolirovat] launches of space devices. And that means, S.K. Nurmagambetov added, that "despite the close contacts we have long had with the leaders of the strategic forces, only they can give a final answer."

It became apparent from the explanations obtained by the editorial office from the Directorate of the Chief of Space Forces that THE WASHINGTON POST report certainly cannot be judged an invention "from start to finish." It is true, General Yu. Gusev, deputy chief of space systems and arms, said, that a "test launch of a space delivery vehicle which was adapted from an SS-19 missile" was carried out in Kazakhstan 20 December.

The general also explained that the launch was planned and the American partners were notified beforehand of its nature, objectives, and the technical facilities involved. In particular, the general added, U.S. Under Secretary of State Bartholomew, who visited Moscow recently, knew about it.

As for the question whether the Republic of Kazakhstan State Defense Committee was informed, what the explanation amounted to was that "Alma-Ata knew all about it." The general referred to a decision by the now defunct USSR military industrial commission.

"The plan for test launches of space vehicles in 1991 was approved by this Union commission in February 1991 and was then confirmed in July 1991," Gen. Yu. Gusev said.

"Before the creation of the independent state of Kazakhstan, that is?" we asked, seeking clarification.

The general answered with a question:

"And when was independent Kazakhstan created?"

Apparently, Russian, Kazkahstan, and U.S. experts have yet to exchange views on whether the launch was a breach of treaties concluded between the United States and the USSR. But the issue is no less acute within the Commonwealth of Independent States.

For President N. Nazarbayev, who received the greatest plaudits at last week's All-Army Officers' Assembly, this space launch will be a very important precedent. On the day THE WASHINGTON POST published the article in question N. Nazarbayev was assuring British Foreign Secretary D. Hurd of his ability to control the use of the nuclear and space potential on the territory of Kazakhstan. And if it is confirmed that the military carried out a dubious launch without consulting Alma-Ata and even without informing it, the reaction will not be long delayed.

An exponent of the restrained approach, President N. Nazarbayev may decide not to publicize the incident. But he will want to have effective control, which would prevent the humiliating situation the independent republic finds itself in at the moment from happening in the future.

Invitations to Nuclear Scientists Confirmed

LD1801114392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1030 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] An interesting statement was made to a TASS correspondent by the deputy director of the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute, (Ponomarev-Stepnoy). He is now at a scientific symposium in the United States. In a conversation with a TASS correspondent he confirmed that representatives of Libya, and of a number of other countries which he refused to name, had indeed proposed long-term contracts for work abroad to staff members of the institute, the Kurchatov Institute. I quote: As far as I know, these proposals were declined—the Soviet scientist stated—but I would not rule out the possibility that such proposals will be repeated and may, in the end, by accepted by someone.

Here is a brief comment. According to U.S. data, some 10,000 former Soviet nuclear scientists have found themselves, or may find themselves, without a job. It is feared in the West that these high-class specialists may be invited over by countries with totalitarian regimes like Libya, Iraq, or North Korea, which are proceeding full steam toward the creation of their own nuclear weapons.

Shaposhnikov Reportedly Cancels Visit to U.S.

OW2001165892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1615 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Interfax" has learned from reliable sources close to the defense ministry that the official visit planned for the end of January for the commander of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, to the United States will not take place.

Shaposhnikov will, however, visit the U.S. towards the end of January as one of the members of Russian President Yeltsin's delegation. It is surmised that Marshal Shaposhnikov will meet with U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney in Washington on February 1st.

Hurd 'Satisfied' With Results of CIS Talks

LD2101112592 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Sidorov]

[Text] London January 21 TASS—British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who has visited Russia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine, is satisfied with the results of his talks with the leaders of the Commonwealth member states.

In reply to a query on Monday [20 January] from the ITN Television Network on whether disagreements between Russia and Ukraine in the military field are wide, Hurd emphasised they concerned the Army, the Air Force and Navy, including the Black Sea fleet and were of very serious nature.

Hurd, who met Presidents Boris Yeltsin, Nursultan Nazarbayev and Leonid Kravchuk, said, however, he was absolutely sure that the Russian and Ukrainian leaders as well as the leaders of the other Commonwealth member states were fully determined to heal their rifts through negotiations.

Asked if disgruntlement in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the former Soviet Union creates a political threat, Hurd answered this sentiment did generate some concern. He stressed, however, that proceeding from the content of his talk with Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth Armed Forces, he did not think military officers' displeasure would bring about a recurrence of the events of August 1991 when a coup attempt was staged.

When ITN asked Hurd about the difference in the style of Yeltsin and Gorbachev, whom Hurd also happened to meet on many occasions, Hurd said he witnessed another atmosphere, another nature and approach to business. He specified that Yeltsin is the leader of Russia while Gorbachev represented the Soviet Union and this is not the same. Hurd said he was amazed how clearly and with determination Yeltsin set out the wide range of his political problems during the two hours of talks.

Hurd Assured on Role of Commonwealth Forces

OW2001174592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1615 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The future of the Armed Forces of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] as the center of attention during a meeting on Monday [20 January] in Moscow between the CIS Armed Forces Commander Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov and Great Britain's minister of foreign affairs Douglas Hurd.

Valeriy Manilov, head of the Defense Ministry's information center, told an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent that during negotiations Shaposhnikov promised his British guest that the united forces of the Commonwealth while preserved under one command will be a guarantor of security not only for the countries of the CIS, but for Europe as a whole.

The Marshal informed the British side of the agreements between the heads of states in the CIS on the military and on preparation for their meeting in Minsk, which will highlight military problems.

Mr. Hurd stated that he was satisfied ith the development of cooperation beteen the CIS and Great Britain in the region of defense.

Hurd, Shevardnadze on Reforms, Nuclear Arms

OW2001192892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1539 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] British Home Secretary, Mr. Douglas Hurd, met with President of the Foreign-Policy Association, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze at the British Embassy in Moscow, January 20.

According to the quarters close to the USSR's former foreign minister, the two officials talked about prospects facing the Commonwealth of Independent States, control over nuclear armaments in the territory of the former Union, the current economic reforms and the situation in Georgia.

Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan Apply For UN Entry

LD1701202192 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations January 17 TASS—"The U.N. Security Council has not begun yet any official discussion of Uzbekistan's and Kyrgyzstan's applications for

U.N. membership," British permanent delegate of the United Nations David Hannay told reporters on Thursday [16 January]. He said the documents, received from these two states, were still being considered at the level of the U.N. Secretariat by officials of the legal department, who are studying one or two technical details. After this work is completed, the Security Council will officially discuss these applications in keeping with the existing procedures, as it did a short while ago with Kazakhstan's request.

The Security Council decided on Thursday to submit Kazakhstan's application to its committee responsible for the admission of new members. A meeting of this committee is scheduled for January 21.

Asked by correspondents during a briefing here about the "technical details" that caused the delay, and why the council could not discuss the applications of all the three former Soviet republics simultaneously, official spokesman of the U.N. Secretary-General Francois Giuliani said that applications from Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan were received in the secretariat by fax and had no signatures of the heads of these two republics attached to them. "The Security Council will be able to consider these applications only after these documents have the signatures of their leaders," he added.

Troops in Poland Said Under Russian Control

LD1801003392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2230 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Malchun]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jan (TASS)—In operational matters the Northern Group of Forces, which is stationed in Poland, is under the control of Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States' [CIS] Armed Forces. This is stated by Colonel Petr Stoyanov, the Russian Federation's military attache in Poland. He was present today at a meeting between Polish National Defense Minister Jan Parys and accredited foreign military attaches.

Clarifying the legal and material status of the Northern Group of Forces, Col. Stoyanov said that the group is under Russian jurisdiction. This does not mean, however, that it is subordinate to the leadership of this sovereign state. [sentence as received] Asked whether the timetable for the withdrawal of this 50,000-strong military contingent from Polish territory would be followed, he said that the evacuation will proceed in keeping with the schedule approved by the parties. All the details of this complex process, taking into account the new situation that has arisen in the Army, will be discussed next week in Moscow during the forthcoming round of negotiations.

SRV Calls Kalugin POW Claims 'Blatant Lie'

PM2001143992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Vietnamese Foreign Ministry Refutes General Kalugin"]

[Text] The Vietnamese Embassy in Moscow has sent the editorial office the following statement by an SRV Foreign Ministry spokesman:

1. O. Kalugin's statements regarding the "interrogation of U.S. prisoners of war in Vietnam after the end of the war" are a blatant lie which should be denounced by the public.

2. These statements by O. Kalugin are contradictory: Either these interrogations took place in 1978 or they took place in 1976. Former KGB Officer Nechiporenko, mentioned in O. Kalugin's statements, who allegedly himself interrogated the prisoners of war and prepared information for Kalugin, recently issued a denial of Kalugin's statements.

Many U.S. intelligence experts also regard Kalugin's statements as unfounded.

3. Vietnam is prepared to allow Kalugin together with U.S. representatives to travel to Vietnam to clarify these statements. He who for the sake of personal ambitions plays on the feelings of the relations of the missing U.S. soldiers should bear the responsibility.

Commentary on Avoiding 'Extremism' in Algeria

LD2001104692 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1700 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Commentary by Oleg Gribkov]

[Text] It seems from the news coming from the Algerian capital that the situation in the city is apparently not very different from the normal situation, except for one thing—the tight security at public buildings. This means that the political reaction raging after the suspension of the elections and the transfer of authority in the country to the Higher State Council fortunately did not lead to disturbances in the streets. Reaction is mainly on the pages of newspapers and leaflets in the capital. Here its intensity is increasing.

The Islamic Salvation Front [FIS], which confidently won the top position in the parliamentary elections, which have been suspended, issued its fifth statement yesterday evening. The statement included a call to the Algerian people to remain vigilant and be ready for the action dictated by the higher interests of the country and of Islam. Observers in Algeria note that what is meant by the terms vigilance and readiness to act is readiness to act in accordance with an FIS call.

It is noteworthy that in Algeria there is no shortage of calls to secure the higher interests of the people and democracy. Many people understand these interests in different ways, as is the case with the ways of keeping social peace in the country. While the said FIS statement strongly condemns war against the people and Islam waged by those which it calls the colonial forces and their agents, today's issue of the newspaper ALGER REPUBLICAIN sees the keeping of peace in removing the parties that rely in their activities on religion for the political struggle.

A halfway but not sensitive solution seems to suit many, if not the majority. Western news agencies, citing secret sources, point out that the FIS leadership has such tendencies, as well as the quarters close to the Higher State Council.

If this trend becomes dominant, Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghozali would then become the new powerful personality in Algeria. It seems that he would be supported by the military and the labor [as heard] quarters, who are interested in stability and the continuation of a free market economy. This prediction becomes less clear if the personalities with radical tendencies in the FIS leadership gain the upper hand.

At any rate, if reaction occurs in the streets, any predictions would become unsafe. We hope that extremism will be avoided in the development of the situation in Algeria.

'Tragic Character' of Algerian Coup Reviewed

LD2101004992 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1500 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Dear listeners, here is the view of Yuriy Titovskiy, TASS commentator, on the situation in Algeria: The events which took place in Algeria during the last 10 days caused a tragic turning point in the life of the country. Many political commentators fear that these events could be marked by a tragic character. Yuriy Titovskiy says that the political step that the military adopted in Algeria, the ascendency of the Higher State Council to power, and the cancellation of the second round of the Algerian parliamentary elections, all that have eliminated the danger of the supporters of the Islamic state obtaining absolute majority of seats in the parliament, and winning the right to form the government, with all the ensuing consequences.

The following logical question suggests itself: To whose benefit is all this? There are contradictions in this case. Concerning the stance of the military, the question does not require any explanation, because the military has always been against the currents of Islamic fundamentalism in political life. They have shown that by their measures in the past when they suppressed the demonstrations of the extreme religious elements.

As for the position of the businessmen and factory owners, it requires special comments. It seems that the influential group in the society is interested more than anybody else in its democratic development, as a guarantee for free trade. But, it transpired that the fear from spreading Islam in the commercial activity is stronger than these considerations. The relations of the new Algerian bourgeoisie with France are well-known, where hundred of thousands of the former colony work. Concerning Paris, it is very little interested in the danger of the blowing up of the Muslim fundamentalists' bomb south of its borders, especially that FIS's [Islamic Salvation Front] Algerian experience could spread out in Tunisia and Morocco. France and the United States expressed their specific concern over the turning point which events in Algeria took, but they do not go beyond that in defending democracy. Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani pointed to this double-standard position, who accused the West that it does not want democracy for the Islamic peoples which stand up to the imposition of foreign will.

The coup d'etat in Algeria has become a fait accompli, and it is significant that the two main political parties in Algeria, i.e. FFS [Socialist Forces Front] and FLN [National Liberation Front], demonstrate their intention to be a political resistance to the military regime. The leaderships of these two fronts met with the current colleagues from FIS, who where their enemies in the past. Muslim fundamentalists call for open confrontation with the new authorities. It is worth noting that the leaders of the Muslim fundamentalists in Algeria, who tasted the fruits of success in the course of the municipality councils elections in Algeria in June 1990, gave impressive statements about the forthcoming measures which aim at transforming the country into the kingdom for Islam. By means of that they attracted the attention of the influential groups in the society.

It is characteristic that the extreme Muslim fundamentalist forces in the Islamic world, inclusive of many countries in the Arab Maghreb, Jordan, Egypt, among the Palestinians, and primarily at state level in Iran and Sudan, expressed their happiness at the possibility of Algeria changing into the kingdom of Islam. Therefore, Mr. Boudiaf's statement should be taken into account where he said he will not allow any individuals or any groups to impose a monopoly on religion, or use religion for doubtful ends.

Turkish Minister on Pan-Turkism, Pan-Islamism

TA2101111292 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 0950 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow (A.A)—Minister of Foreign Affairs Hikmet Cetin on Monday [20 January] said Turkey is not after the objectives of pan-Turkism or pan-Islamism and it wants to have friendly relations with all republics of the former Soviet Union.

Cetin said his visit to Moscow, the first such visit since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, will contribute to the setting up of a new stage in Turkish-Russian relations.

In Moscow since Monday, Cetin started his official contacts by meeting representatives of Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan in the Turkish Embassy in Moscow.

The representatives expressed satisfaction that Turkey has recognized their independence and expressed their wish to develop relations with the republics.

The process of adhesion of former Soviet republics in international forums such as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and a conference on the aid to these republics scheduled to take place in Washington this month were among the subjects discussed during Cetin's contacts.

Cetin said Turkey had been the first country to recognize the independence of the republics and wishes to develop its relations based on friendship, mutual confidence, and in economic, cultural, political and security matters.

On Monday [20 January] Cetin also met with representatives of the Ahiska Turks, who are trying to immigrate to Turkey since 1989.

Ahiska Turks had been chased out of their territories in inner Georgia in 1944 by then ruling Stalin regime towards Central Asia.

More then 100 Ahiskas were killed in 1989 during ethnic clashes and were forced to flee to other Russian republics.

U.S., Israel Seek 'Foothold' in Central Asia

LD1701153792 Moscow TASS in English 1204 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Kuznetsov]

[Text] New York January 17 TASS—The United States has launched an offstage campaign to prompt the former Soviet Central Asian republics to adhere to the Turkish model of development, not to the example of Iranian Islamic fundamentalists, an official of the American Administration, who wished to remain anonymous, told the ASSOCIATED PRESS.

A stiff competition for influence over approximately 50 million people living in the Central Asian republics, more than two-thirds of whom profess belief in Islam, has begun between Turkey, Iran and Saudi Arabia, the ASSOCIATED PRESS claims. It says that the United States is trying to remain in the shadow so as not to evoke anti-Western feelings. However, it renders clandestine support to Turkey, which is trying to set an example to these republics in their efforts to create a West-oriented model of a Muslim state.

This year the United States plans to open embassies in two out of the five central Asian republics—Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. According to the ASSOCIATED PRESS, the U.S. Department of State is hastily training specialists, who know Central Asian languages. Another anonymous official of the American Administration said the U.S. was short of intelligence information and very few people know anything about the Central Asian republics.

Israel is exerting similar efforts. According to the ASSOCIATED PRESS, officials of the Israeli Foreign Ministry have recommended the opening of diplomatic missions in these republics and the rendering of Israeli services to them in a wide range of areas—from agriculture to defence. A high-ranking Israeli official said: "Before they determine the course to follow, we have a chance to get a foothold there and influence developments in those republics."

The stakes of the United States and its allies are high, because the central Asian republics possess nuclear weapons, as well as substantial oil and gas reserves, the ASSOCIATED PRESS notes.

Commentator Views Lessons of Gulf War

LD1901201192 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1400 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Station commentary]

[Text] A year has passed since the Desert Storm operation which ended with the routing of Iraq and its expulsion from Kuwait. Here is a commentary by our commentator about some of the lessons that could be derived from the Gulf War:

For the first time, different countries united over a just cause, namely, the protection of a victim of aggression, and showed unanimity of views on the need for ending the aggression.

The USSR voted alongside the United States, which presided over the coalition, at the UN Security Council in favor of the adoption of firm action. The long rivalry between the two powers, which used to escalate regional conflicts, came to an end. This coalition should also act now as a warning to any aggressor, after Russia has become the legitimate heir of the USSR.

During the Desert Storm operation, in which about 1 million soldiers from both sides took part, voices rose asking whether the international community had been rash in its action and whether all peaceful means to bring pressure to bear on the aggressor had been exhausted.

Now, one year after the operation, these doubts seem increasingly to have been justified. True, the aggressor has been defeated. But at what price? The operation claimed at least 150,000 people, and over 5 million others became destitute. The economies of both Iraq and Kuwait were destroyed. But President Saddam Husayn continues in power.

It was stated that there was a need for a quick action as Iraq was capable of making an atomic bomb and of using its chemical weapons.

But one cannot but ask: Who helped Iraq to establish strong armed forces? The answer: The United States, the USSR, Britain, France, Germany, and other countries which later joined the coalition.

The UN Security Council adopted a resolution whereby the Iraqi ballistic missiles were destroyed. Preparations are being made to destroy Iraqi chemical weapons, while the nuclear weapons centers are being closed. The UN Security Council's resolutions imposing economic sanctions and banning arms supplies to Baghdad are still in force. But who can guarantee that these sanctions and ban will not be violated?

To insure that the events of last year will not be repeated, it is necessary that strict control be imposed on the supply of arms to the region, preferably by the United Nations.

This is yet another lesson that can be learned from the Gulf War.

Rumors of Arms Sales to Israel Denied

LD1701222792 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Western news media occasionally report that Moscow may sell combat vehicles and other armaments to Israel; for example, the MiG fighter planes, modern missile installations, and tracking stations. Our military observer, Vladimir Orlov, has asked the chief of the General Staff department involved in foreign arms trade, Colonel (Boris Yesipenko), to bring us up to date on the matter.

[(Yesipenko) is heard briefly in Russian, fading into English translation] I can say with full responsibility that Moscow has never sold weapons to Israel and does not plan to do so, at least in the foreseeable future. The Middle East is supersaturated with weapons. So we have agreed with our Western partners to reduce military supplies to the region.

Asked who would be responsible for observing the previous commitments on the arms trade since the Soviet Union has fallen apart, Colonel Yesipenko said:

[(Yesipenko) is heard briefly in Russian, fading into English translation] Russia has assumed all the commitments of the former Soviet Union. For example, the Soviet Union had a treaty on friendship and cooperation with Syria, so we continue to deliver weapons and render services on technical aid, though now defensive weapons rather than offensive predominate in our supplies. Also, the volume of deliveries is notably declining.

CIS States 'Risk Losing' Indian Arms Market

PM1601164592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Nikolay Paklin report: "Unreliable Trading Partner Always Loses Out. Competition in Indian Military Hardware Market"]

[Text] Delhi—Indian newspapers have published a report on U.S. aircraft companies' offer to sell their output to India. To be specific, Northrop is offering equipment for the production of F-5 fighters and spare parts for them. While Lockheed is willing to sell C-130 military transports.

The Americans are not hiding the fact that both aircraft are designed to replace Soviet combat hardware currently in the Indian Air Force arsenal. The F-5 is to replace our MiG-21's, while the C-130 is to replace Soviet transports. In making their offers, U.S. businessmen are acting on the premise that with the breakup of the USSR, India has begun to experience difficulties in obtaining spare parts for Soviet combat hardware bought from our country. There is a grain of truth in this.

However, there is also some truth in the idea that U.S. military concerns are endeavoring to fill the gap formed as a result of the uncertainty in relations between India and Russia and other members of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. East European countries, which as members of the Warsaw Pact were quite recently receiving plenty of Soviet weapons, have also rushed to fill this gap.

It cannot be denied that arms shipments abroad pose a tricky issue. However, there is undoubtedly an economic aspect to it. Firms and, thus, countries earn sizable amounts of money from selling weapons. The Indian Army is 70 percent equipped with Soviet weapons. India now pays us a considerable sum each year for the combat hardware that we have supplied—and are still supplying—and spare parts. With this money we buy various kinds of output in India, primarily the consumer goods and food which we need so much at this difficult moment. But other countries would also not be averse to earning money by supplying India with weapons. The competitive struggle on what is a very large Indian arms market is intensifying. Those offering lower prices and more advantageous terms are the winners. A partner's reliability and the ability to ensure continual shipments of the requisite hardware and spare parts are also of no small significance.

The uncertainty in our economic and financial relations with India has dragged on. We run the risk of losing the Indian arms market, or at least being considerably squeezed. But it will never be empty. Arms firms from other countries, the United States among them, will fill it with their output. The result being that we will suffer considerable economic damage.

There is one way out. To find without delay a way of resolving the fairly simple problem of delivering spare parts for our combat hardware and organizing joint production with India of the requisite kinds of arms. An idealist would ask: What is this, whipping up the arms race? A realist would answer: No, fighting for space. The arms race can only be restricted through collective efforts, coordinated at international level. It is up to the

Russian diplomatic service and the foreign policy departments of the other CIS states.

Bank Stops Payment on Former USSR Debt

LD1901053992 Moscow TASS in English 0912 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovin]

[Text] Tokyo January 15 TASS—The Vnesheconombank of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has for the first time partly stopped payment of interest even on credits from foreign private banks from January 1992, which is making them think about taking serious counter measures, Japanese ASAHI newspaper reported today quoting international financial circles.

At present, the question regarding stoppage of interest payments is under consideration at a meeting of the creditor banks of the former Soviet Union being held in Frankfurt. As of June 1991, it owed 43.8 billion U.S. dollars to foreign private financial companies.

In December 1991 a committee formed by creditor banks had agreed to postpone till March 1992 repayment of the main part of credits given to the former Soviet Union. But from the first days of January some Japanese and Western banks suddenly stopped receiving even interests on those credits, which caused deep concern in financial circles.

At present, there are rumours going around that at a certain stage of the devlopment of events, republics of the former Soviet Union could even be officially declared bankrupt. It will mean complete stoppage of payment of subsidies to them and creation of a special rigid financial regime for the CIS.

Repayments to Japan End

LD1701204692 Moscow TASS in English 1556 GMT 17 Jan 92

[by TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo January 17 TASS— The republics of the former Soviet Union have stopped all current payments on credits granted to them by private and major commercial banks of Japan. The newspaper "DAILY YOMIURI" reported today with reference to local business circles that the total sum of their debt has already reached 100 billion yen, that is about 800 million U.S. dollars. This endangers future bilateral commercial and economic relations, which are greatly deranged as it is by the breakup of the Soviet Union.

The present situation, it is believed in Japanese commercial circles, is much graver than that of 1989, when [passage indistinct].

Trade With India Jeopardized

PM1601092592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Correspondent Nikolay Paklin report under the rubric "Soviet-Indian Economic Ties": "No More Goods Dispatched"]

[Text] Delhi—The Indian Reserve Bank has dealt Indian exporters a blow below the belt. As of 27 December 1991 it stopped paying commercial banks which finance the supply of Indian goods to members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] under appropriate export documents.

This decision has essentially blocked Indian exports to the former Soviet Union. Indian firms are unlikely to continue to supply us with goods if they have no guarantee that the goods will be paid for.

The reason for the Indian Reserve Bank's decision is the formal termination of financial operations by the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity in connection with the breakup of the Soviet Union. Money for goods we had bought used to be transferred from Moscow to its account with the Indian Reserve Bank. In turn, it received Indian payments for goods bought from us and for the long-term state credits with which we have supplied India in the past. A system of clearing accounts was employed. The sides' payments and receipts were regularly balanced.

The Indian Reserve Bank has promised to resume Indian export credits as soon as it has been officially informed of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity's legal successor. Our institutions in Delhi have asked Moscow to name the successor as soon as possible. So far there has been no response. Indian exporters are panicking. Many of them have freight ready for dispatch waiting in port. Every day of storage costs a fortune. Incidentally, Indian banks no longer accept USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity cheques as payment from our specialists arriving in India.

But this is only the tip of the iceberg. The fact is that the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity had accumulated an enormous deficit of 22 billion rupees (almost $1 billion) in its Indian account by the end of 1991. We owe India this large amount as a result of current trade operations. Our debt is a heavy burden on the Indian state budget. Soviet-Indian trade agreements offer the possibility of temporarily bridging the gap between exports and imports. The Indian Reserve Bank supplies so-called technical credit for this purpose, on preferential terms and at a 4.6-percent annual interest rate. Indian banks pay their depositors 11 percent interest annually. However, the agreements do not stipulate the limits of this technical credit. What would be an acceptable limit? This is what a high-ranking Russian economist told your correspondent:

"At the end of 1990, our debt to India resulting from current trade operations stood at 19 billion rupees. That is a very great deal. Few people could have imagined that technical credit would reach such an imposing figure. This debt arose because we bought more than we sold. A deficit on this kind of scale was alarming. Our side made efforts to reduce it. We managed to scale down our debt in 1991, and by August it stood at approximately 7 billion rupees. We felt optimistic—It looked as if the debt problem had been solved. But then it began to creep up again.

"The solution is obvious: Russia and the other members of the Commonwealth must jointly or individually name the legal successor—or legal successors—to the former USSR's Bank for Foreign Economic Activity without delay. That will open the way to a resumption of trade. As far as our 22 billion rupee debt is concerned, even if trade with India were to end completely—which is unlikely—we will be able to pay it off by the end of 1992. India is due to pay us approximately 30 billion rupees in long-term state credit this year. These payments with interest will cover our debt and even leave 8 billion rupees 'for minor expenses.' Moreover, our economists believe that, if India agreed to spread payment of the debt over several years, we could use a substantial proportion of the rupees received from India in repayment of our credits to buy Indian goods.

"But I do not think things will go as far as trade ending completely. In any case, Indian businessmen intend to continue trading with us. We are an important market for them. We need their goods and they need ours."

PRAVDA Foresees 'Bad Debtor' Status

PM2101115592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 92 p 2

[Article by Gennadiy Yastrebtsov: "Our People Ask, Foreigners Demand"]

[Text] I remember last year's debates on the problem of paying the USSR's foreign debt. All the sovereign states at the time acknowledged its existence and the need to extinguish it and on 28 October eight former Soviet republics signed a memorandum on mutual understanding and agreed to acknowledge joint responsibility for the Soviet Union's foreign debt as it stood at that date. In early December the sovereign states signed a treaty on succession with regard to the USSR's foreign state debt and assets.

Everything would seem to be fair and decent. But you will agree that it is one thing to acknowledge the existence of a debt and another to repay it on time. Our treasury was exhausted long ago and people are poor and becoming poorer with every passing day—the liberalization of prices is mercilessly turning their pockets inside out. It is true that our people are merely complaining of their hard life and requesting that it be alleviated in some way while the foreigners are demanding increasingly persistently that the debts be paid as soon as possible, or else....

What is to be done here? It looks as though the government has yet again given up on its own people so that foreigners should not, God forbid, be the losers.

As is well known, Russia has applied for admission to the IMF and the World Bank. The coordination committee of the very largest Western banks that are the Soviet Union's creditors discussed this question at its session in Frankfurt-am-Maine. The communique which was published says that the committee members have taken note of the report on the development of events in the former Union, especially in Russia, where a wide program of reforms **coordinated with the IMF** has begun to be implemented.

The Russian exporters must now channel into a special reserve fund 40 percent of their currency profit obtained from selling specific goods. Which goods? Oil, natural gas, timber, metal, and chemical products.

Representatives of the Foreign Economic Bank have assured the Western creditors that they intend to make all payments unconditionally once they have collected the funds. This induces sad thoughts about how the brunt of the debt, as always, will be on the shoulders of the working people. The tough prices policy in our country and the readiness, with an empty treasury, to industriously pay off debts abroad are interconnected things. It is true that Western experts are urging that Russia be given a foreign debt payment deferment. But experts are only experts. And AFP, citing representatives of a number of Paris banks recently noted as it were in passing that it is in the interests of the Commonwealth of Independent States to observe the deadlines for paying the interest on its foreign debts since otherwise it runs the risk of being classified as a bad debtor and will hardly receive new loans.

Independence is all very well, but we should count our money....

Commonwealth

Further Results of Member States' Meeting

Protocol on Cargo Transit

LD1701143692 Moscow TASS in English
1240 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Protocol of the Working Meeting of the Heads of State of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]

The heads of the Commonwealth states have resolved:

To instruct the heads of government to work out an agreement to stop issuing licences and determining quotas for industrial and technical supplies within the Commonwealth and lift restrictions on cargo transit through the territories of the Commonwealth states, including an additional transit fee, including for export-import cargoes.

To submit the draft of the above mentioned agreement for discussion by the heads of Commonwealth states.

Executed in Moscow on January 16, 1992 in one authentic copy in Russian. The original copy shall be kept in the archives of the government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send its certified copy to the states that signed this protocol.

[Signed] For the Republic of Azerbaijan
A. Mutalibov
For the Republic of Belarus
S. Shushkevich
For the Republic of Kyrgyzstan
A. Akayev
For the Russian Federation
B. Yeltsin
For the Republic of Armenia
L. Ter-Petrosyan
For the Republic of Kazakhstan
N. Nazarbayev
For the Republic of Tajikistan
R. Nabiyev
For Ukraine
L. Kravchuk

Protocol on Navy Symbols

LD1701143892 Moscow TASS in English
1210 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—

Protocol
of the Working Meeting of Heads of State
of Member-Countries of the Commonwealth
of Independent States [CIS] on Navy Symbols

Heads of Commonwealth member-states have agreed:

To change Navy symbols in connection with the abolition of the USSR and the need to bring the status of naval ships in line with international laws and practices.

That the historical St. Andrew's flag will become the Navy's basic (stern) flag (two diagonal blue stripes on a white cloth). The Russian Federation president will issue a decree on Navy symbols.

That the Navy of the former USSR is part of Commonwealth strategic forces, except some Black Sea Fleet units that will be included in the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

When naval vessels and support ships of the former USSR are passed over to member-states of the Commonwealth the St. Andrew's flag will be replaced by naval flags of corresponding states.

The question about the transfer of some ships and vessels of the Black Sea Fleet, and the transfer of some ships of the Caspian flotilla to Azerbaijan, as well as their Navy symbols, will be decided on the basis of bilateral agreements between the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Azerbaijan correspondingly.

Done in one copy in Russian in Moscow on January 16, 1992. The authentic copy will be kept by the Belarus Government, which will sent an authorised copy to states-signatories of this protocol.

[Signed]
For Azerbaijan
A. Mutalibov
For Belarus
S. Shushkevich
For Kyrgyzstan
A. Akayev
For the Russian Federation
B. Yeltsin
For Kazakhstan
N. Nazarbayev
For Tajikistan
R. Nabiyev
For the Ukraine
L. Kravchuk

Social Provisions for Servicemen

LD1701144692 Moscow TASS in English
1025 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The heads of independent states,

Guided by the interests of ensuring the security of all the Commonwealth states and guaranteeing the social protection of servicemen and members of their families,

Understanding the desire of servicemen to be loyal to the military oath,

Recognising the need to work out mutually acceptable decisions during the reform of the Armed Forces in order to perpetuate and strengthen the defence capacity of Commonwealth states, Declare their readiness in the nearest future:

—to conclude an agreement at inter-state level on the status of the Armed Forces deployed on the territories of Commonwealth states,

—to guarantee by national legislation all the political, socio-economic and personal rights and liberties of servicemen and members of their families in keeping with the international law,

—to rule out any restrictions in the Commonwealth states on the right of servicemen to remain for permanent residence in places where they discharge their duties or to choose another place of residence,

—to draw up and adopt special programmes to resolve housing problems and to guarantee on a mutually agreed basis the pensioning of servicemen on the territories of Commonwealth states,

—to decide questions relating to the reduction and redeployment of troops on a legal basis.

The Commonwealth states:

—will display more concern for the personnel of the Armed Forces,

—will render maximum aid and support to the solution of social problems and matters pertaining to the every day life of servicemen and members of their families,

—they deem it necessary for the mass media to highlight objectively and reservedly the service and every-day life of servicemen.

Signed:

President of the Azerbaijan Republic A. Mutalibov

Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Belarus Republic S. Shushkevich

President of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan A. Akayev

President of the Russian Federation B. Yeltsin

President of the Repubic of Armenia L. Ter-Petrosyan

President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev

President of the Republic of Tajikistan R. Nabiyev

On behalf of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan A. Saidov

President of the Ukraine L. Kravchuk

Moscow, January 16, 1992.

Group Coordinator Appointed

LD1701153892 Moscow TASS in English
1129 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Protocol of the working meeting of the heads of state of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]

The heads of Commonwealth states have resolved:

To appoint Ivan Mikhaylovich Korotchen coordinator of the working group for organisational and technical preparation and holding of sessions of the Council of the Heads of State and the Council of the Heads of Government.

Executed in Moscow on January 16, 1992 in one authentic copy in Russian. The original copy shall be kept in the archive of the government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send its certified copy to the states that signed this protocol.

[Signed]
For the Republic of Azerbaijan
A. Mutalibov
For the Republic of Belarus
S. Shushkevich
For the Republic of Kyrgyzstan
A. Akayev
For the Russian Federation
B. Yeltsin
For the Republic of Armenia
L. Ter-Petrosyan
For the Republic of Kazakhstan
N. Nazarbayev
For the Republic of Tajikistan
R. Nabiyev
For the Ukraine
L. Kravchuk

Temporary Statute Signed

LD1701181292 Moscow TASS in English
1606 GMT 17 Dec 92

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—**Protocol of the Meeting of the Heads of State of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]**

The Heads of State of the Commonwealth of Independent States have resolved:

To approve the temporary statute of the Working Group for organisational and technical preparation and holding of sessions of the Council of the Heads of State and the Council of the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth of Independent States (attached).

Executed in Moscow on January 16, 1992 in one authentic copy in state languages of the states that signed this protocol.

The original copy shall be kept in the archive of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send its certified copies to the states that signed this protocol.

[Signed]

For the Republic of Azerbaijan
A. Mutalibov
For the Republic of Belarus
S. Shushkevich
For the Republic of Kyrgyzstan
A. Akayev
For the Russian Federation

B. Yeltsin
For the Republic of Armenia
L. Ter-Petrosyan
For the Republic of Kazakhstan
N. Nazarbayev
For the Republic of Tajikistan
R. Nabiyev
For the Ukraine
L. Kravchuk

Supplement
Temporary Statute

Of the Working Group for organisational and technical preparation and holding of sessions of the Council of the Heads of State and the Council of the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth of Independent States

1.1. In keeping with the protocol of the meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the Commonwealth of Independent States of December 30, 1991, a working group is being set up for organisational and technical preparation and holding of sessions of the Council of the Heads of State and the Council of the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth of Independent States (hereafter referred to as the Working Group).

1.2. The Working Group will base its work on the agreement on the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States of December 8, 1991 and the protocol to it of December 21, 1991, the temporary agreement on the Council of the Heads of State and the Council of the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth of Independent States of December 30, 1991, this statute and relevant resolutions of the Council of the Heads of State and Government.

2.1. To ensure proper organisational and technical preparation and holding of sessions of the Councils of the Heads of State and Government, the Working Group will:

A) Send to the Commonwealth States preliminary agendas of upcoming sessions of the Council of the Heads of State and the Council of the Heads of Government, proposals from the Commonwealth States to include additional questions in the agenda, drafts of documents submitted to the Councils of the Heads of State and Government, including documents approved by experts and working auxiliary bodies of the councils, at least 15 days before the beginning of the session, unless stated otherwise by the Council of the Heads of State or the Council of the Heads of Government.

B) Prepare drafts of agendas of future sessions of the Councils of the Heads of State and Government to be approved by upcoming sessions of the councils.

C) Receive, copy and send out agenda materials submitted during sessions of the Councils of the Heads of State and Government.

D) Between sessions of the Councils of the Heads of State and Government, it will provide the necessary assistance to organise preliminary discussions at experts level of materials and drafts of documents submitted to the councils, including to complete their consideration.

E) On the instructions of the Council of the Heads of State or the Council of the Heads of Government, it will send draft documents, which need special examination, to scientific and research institutions of the Commonwealth States or competent inter-governmental or international organisations.

F) Promote exchanges of information between the Commonwealth States on issues of mutual interest, including agreements with third countries and agreements on activities, which have to be coordinated by the Commonwealth States, according to their mutual agreement.

G) Keep a record of resolutions adopted by the Council of the Heads of State and the Council of the Heads of Government and keep a file of current materials.

H) Provides assistance to the Government of the Republic of Belarus in performing the functions of depository of conventions and agreements concluded between the Commonwealth States.

I) Compile and submit for approval to the Council of the Heads of State a draft of its budget for a calender year and a report on the fulfilment of the budget.

J) When the need arises, compile and submit for approval to the Council of the Heads of State a draft of its composition and the personnel list.

K) Conduct financial and economic operations connected with leasing premises and holding sessions of the Councils of the Heads of State and Government.

L) Perform on the instruction of the Councils of the Heads of State and Government other functions connected with their business management.

2.2. To conduct financial and economic activities to prepare and hold sessions of the Councils of the Heads of State and Government, the Working Group will be recognised on the territory of the Commonwealth States as a legal entity, which have certain rights and can undertake certain responsibilities.

3.1. The coordinator of the Working Group will be appointed by the Council of the Heads of State.

3.2. The Working Group will include two officials from each Commonwealth State, as well as technical and auxiliary personnel to ensure the fulfilment of functions by the Working Group.

3.3. Technical and auxiliary personnel will be appointed from among residents of the state chosen as the seat of the Working Group in accordance with the approved personnel list.

3.4. When the need arises, the head of the Working Group can hire additional personnel (stenographers, translators, etc.) on the basis of short-term or one-time contracts to hold sessions of the Councils of the Heads of State and Government in accordance with the approved budget.

3.5. Terms of employment of technical and auxiliary personnel, including hiring, resignation, working hours, vacationing, salary, social security, etc. will be regulated by the labour rules to be approved by the Council of the Heads of Government.

4.1. General expenses connected with the activity of the Working Group will be shared by the Commonwealth States annually on a parity basis.

The Commonwealth States will transfer certain sums to cover the expenses connected with the activity of the Working Group to the bank account of the Working Group after the Council of the Heads of State approves the budget for the next calender year.

4.2. Expenses paid by the Government of the Republic of Belarus in connection with the allocation of premises to hold sessions of the Councils of the Heads of State and Government and accommodate the Working Group, as well as other services, will be included into the part of the budget of the Working Group to be reimbursed.

5.1. To prevent outside pressure on or interference in the activity of the Working Group in performing its duties, its members will enjoy privileges and immunity equal to those of officials holding certain positions in the international civil service.

6.1. Members of the Working Group will be appointed by the Commonwealth States on a permanent basis. They will be summoned by the coordinator of the group to prepare and hold sessions of the Councils of the Heads of State and Government as the need arises, but not later than a month before the beginning of a session of the council. Upon the completion of work on documents adopted at this session and fulfilment of other instructions, a break can be announced in the group.

7.1. The seat of the Working Group is the city of Minsk.

Decision To Ratify Statute

PM2101103592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Text of Decision of Heads of Commonwealth States under the general heading "The Heads of States Have Decided"]

[Text] The heads of states have decided:

To ratify the interim statute on the working group for the organizational-technical preparation and holding of sessions of the Council of Heads of States and Council of the Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The protocol is signed by the leaders of the Azerbaijan Republic, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Tajikistan, and the Ukraine.

Bilateral Agreement Signed

OW1701211092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a sitting of the Commonwealth leaders Russia and Kazakhstan signed an agreement whereby the two republics scrapped all quotas and licenses, formed a common economic space and ruble zone and consented not to exact additional payment for shipment of goods, including pipeline shipments, said Nursultan Nazarbayev, Kazakh president, at a brief Friday [17 January] press conference held at the Kazakh representative office. It was also agreed to harmonize the financial and money-printing policies Nazarbayev emphasized that the treaty is open for signature to all Commonwealth countries.

The Kazakh president spoke in favor of a common currency in the Commonwealth, "effective during the crisis management period at least." He said that though Ukraine makes it a point of saying that it did not plan to have a national currency, it has introduced coupons, a de-facto currency.

Nazarbayev Follows Meeting With News Conference

LD1801033592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Nursultan Nazarbayev was applauded by officers in the Kremlin today for his concern for the Army. Yeltsin quoted economic relations with Kazakhstan as an example for the whole Commonwealth. It seems that Nazarbayev is the only politician in the whole of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] with whom no one is angry.

[Correspondent V. Skvortsov] Nursultan Nazarbayev is the only president of the eight participants who agreed to answer journalists' questions on the results of the meeting. It was he who initiated the news conference. Apparently, he is more concerned than the others about the arguments concerning the Army and the depressing results of the deregulation of prices. However, the unpreparedness and haste of the presidents' meeting meant that it was not possible to cut the Gordian knot of Army problems and to set coordination of economic reforms going in the CIS.

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] Since the documents were only submitted the evening before, the heads of states did not manage to familiarize themselves with them.[end recording]

[Skvortsov] So the next meeting is not one more extemporaneous affair, it has been decided to set up a so-called technical group to which will belong two representatives of each of the 11 republics. They will prepare draft agreements for future meetings, but so far only Kazakhstan and Russia have demonstrated the resolve to get out of the crisis together by concluding bilateral agreements.

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] We are lifting all quotas and licenses between Kazakhstan and Russia, forming a single economic area, a single ruble zone; are excluding supplementary transit payment; and are coordinating financial and emissions policies.[end recording]

[Skvortsov] Anyway, the agreement may become multilateral and, nonetheless, Nazarbayev speaks about the fate of the Commonwealth without complete confidence.

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] I want to believe that the CIS has not deceived people's expectations.[end recording]

Political Scientist Comments on 'Cold War'

PM1601115392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 pp 1,2

[Commentary by Miroslav Buzhkevich under the rubric "Political Scientist's Observations": "The Watchful Eye of Discord"]

[Excerpts] Winter has turned out to be capricious and inconstant this year. Until very recently it had not in fact appeared in the European part of the former Union. The political climate in the country is another matter—it has gotten noticeably harsher. In recent weeks there has in general been an Antarctic chill in the air.

With the appearance of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] there was increased hope that the sun in our lives would finally start turning toward summer and we would get a real opportunity to survive in a dignified manner this stalemate into which the sorry politicians and economists of former and not so distant times had dragged us. In the meantime conflicts have already emerged in the Commonwealth—still just an untidy organism which has been thrown together and whose cohesion is tenuous—between the states which have come together in order to be friends. Today they look like people who have plucked up the courage to cross a rushing torrent. Having linked arms, they have rushed toward the opposite bank, which promises a peaceful and satiated life. But all the time one of them tries to break the chain—it seems to him that there is no point in supporting his neighbor and that he can achieve his desired aim all the quicker on his own.

How much alarm and fear the "skirmish" over the Black Sea Military Fleet and the resolution of the fate of the former Union's Armed Forces has caused us all. I am not going to repeat all the ups and downs of this dispute; everyone is hearing about them constantly. I want to point out that when an open confrontation seemed unavoidable, the Russian and Ukrainian delegations nevertheless found a way to emerge from the crisis. A mixed commission was formed from representatives of both states to work out down to the fine detail the whole procedure for forming the Ukrainian Armed Forces and determine which units of the former Soviet Army in Ukraine will be transferred to the joint strategic forces command.

Was it worth charging the political atmosphere to such an extent? Did the presidents have to exchange "bitter" attacks when, as it turned out, the issues could be resolved in a calm atmosphere round the negotiating table? This should have been done earlier, without staging the race to sign the agreements in Minsk merely in order to demonstrate to the world idyllic unanimity within the new Commonwealth. The truth will always out—there were and will continue to be differences of opinion among its members. There is nothing terrible about that—the process of forming a new international political structure with no counterpart in history is under way. But the "rules of the game" should be civilized and honorable. It is better to speak frankly and not to hide your intentions from your partners. Alas, these rules are not being observed.

They apparently agreed on a ruble area. But the heads of several CIS member states knew what their colleagues did not know—coupons destined to squeeze from the market a ruble which is recognized by everybody had already been printed. Just a few days passed and this became reality. A new "currency"—special coupons—was introduced in Ukraine and Belarus. [passage omitted]

Recently newspapers and television and radio programs have carried reports that there are people who want to ruin the country's unified energy system. [passage omitted]

The atmosphere surrounding another very important economic structure is becoming strained. I am referring to transport, first and foremost the railroads. [passage omitted]

Is it possible to extinguish the first hotbeds of "cold war" in the CIS? It is not easy to predict what lies in store for it in the future. The unpredictability of one president, the overweening ambitions of another, the conservatism of a third, and so forth are making unexpected amendments to the logic of events. The whole point is to ensure that the leaders agree on common standpoints and firmly and harmoniously defend them.

It is not difficult to identify this community of interests. The other day IZVESTIYA published a draft "Treaty on Instituting an International Economic Commonwealth (IEC)." It is easy to see the similarity between this document and its forerunner—the agreement on an interstate economic community which it was proposed should be added to the Novo-Ogarevo Union Treaty. However, it is not a question of a simple carbon copy of it. The present text is noticeably different from the one which I. Silayev's team devised. But the points of departure are very close: the formation of a common economic area based on market relations, the creation of new financial and economic structures, coordination of the development of the Commonwealth's trade and economic ties, and so on. The draft's author—the IEC's Provisional Secretariat—called on the independent states' parliaments and governments, and also business and public circles to support the idea of creating an economic commonwealth. Indeed, why should you not support this, in my view, very fruitful idea? If we have linked arms and decided to cross the rushing torrent of the transitional period to the market, then such a treaty will only give us strength and the confidence that we will not slip on the wet stones. I wrote these lines and immediately recalled Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk's harsh voice: There should be no hint of a "center"! So what on earth is better: an absence of coordinating structures in the CIS and floundering about on your own in the rapids of the economic crisis, or the creation of such structures, of a kind of compass which will help everyone to move together toward the planned aim without, of course, infringing anyone's sovereignty?

A "cold war" is no less ruinous and dangerous than a real one. And it is first and foremost the people who become its victims. While the leaders gratify their own pride and ambition, the people's standard of living is falling uncontrollably. So maybe the time has finally come to find a reliable means of halting this decline? For a start it would be good for everyone to grasp that the independent states have come together in order to haul as a Commonwealth, that is, in concord and harmony, the heavy cart of economic, political, and social problems to which implacable history has harnessed them. And nothing else!

Military

Further Coverage of All-Army Officers' Assembly

Kasatonov Address

LD1801011992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1058 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Speech by Admiral Igor Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, to the assembly of Army officers in the Moscow Kremlin Palace of Congresses on 17 January—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade president of Kazakhstan! Esteemed comrade presidents, including Comrade Kravchuk who is absent from our meeting! Esteemed friends and comrades in arms! Those of us present here, representatives of officers' meetings in all branches of the Armed Forces, clearly realize that the old Union no longer exists. Instead, there is a Commonwealth of 11 independent states. This is reality, comrades. On 30 December these states signed the Minsk agreements but the agreements are not being implemented in full. Long established terms used in the Minsk agreements are being interpreted in an arbitrary way. The meaning of what was agreed there is being distorted. And this is being done in an entirely unscientific way.

It was with alarm that we, the military, awaited the decision that was reached on 30 December. This was the juncture at which fears for the future of the Navy, fears held not just by the families of Black Sea sailors but also by the families of officers serving in other fleets, fears which had long been developing, were confirmed. This anxiety has emerged in the Baltic Fleet, in the Northern Fleet, and in the Pacific Fleet, among officers who were expecting a transfer to the Black Sea Fleet. This was anxiety about an enormous misfortune which can only be compared with a terrible catastrophe like war. The sailors' families have lost their repose and tranquillity once and for all. Tough market prices that cannot be understood are redoubling these anxieties.

Esteemed comrade presidents! In the history of all states and all civilized mankind there has never been a precedent for the nationalization of people, of servicemen, along with Army assets, stores, and armaments, for the nationalization of servicemen's families, their futures, and the thing they cherish most, the future of their children. [applause]

And advantage is being taken of this for the purpose of speculation. Who could have imagined that an affair of this sort would be served up to us? For the nth time we are a source of amazement to the whole of civilized humanity. Passions and hullabaloo are being stirred up over the Black Sea Fleet and this is preventing us servicemen from carrying out our official duties. Those duties have been laid down not because someone wanted to have a large or small Black Sea Fleet, but because, in fulfilling our common strategic task and interacting with three okrugs, it participated in the southwestern area of the unified defense system of a unified strategic space, which with the disappearance of the USSR has not disappeared, but remains. And this task must be solved in the interests of the whole Commonwealth. Who does not understand this? But the main thing is that men, officers, remain who voluntarily and sincerely joined the fleet and by the will of destiny find themselves and their families in fearful expectation.

What now? And what on earth is going on? There's no war on. There are no bombs or shells falling. What's the answer to this question? The answer is that the mightiest and strongest army in the world, of which we were proud, is being carved up—including the Black Sea Fleet. The Black Sea Fleet is based in five of the former republics: Russia, the Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, and Azerbaijan.

On 20 November Georgia announced the nationalization of all the property of the Army and Navy. We Black Sea Navy men were already being called occupiers, and the flow of officers' families who had become refugees began. At the beginning of December General Dudayev's combat groups were furnishing our garrisons in Azerbaijan, and from there, again, the flow of refugees began—another group of them. Those Navy officers are very patient. Now the Ukraine has declared that those who don't want to take the oath can go to a foreign country—abroad. More refugees. Is this not too much for the Navy alone?

Take this interesting case: Two twin brothers are serving in the Navy. Both are Col. Kotyashkovs. Both are brigade leaders in the marines. One is serving in the Black Sea Fleet, the other in the Baltic Fleet. Their mother is Ukrainian, and their father Russian. They are foreigners to each other; but if the Black Sea Kotyashkov doesn't take the Ukrainian oath, he'll be first an occupier, and then a refugee. And he and his family will have to move in with his brother, in his two-room apartment in Baltiysk, and I suppose the six of them will be happy to live in that two-room apartment. Is all this conceivable?

Respecting the sovereignty of the Ukrainian state and the will of its people, we understand that the creation of the Ukrainian armed forces is an issue which has been settled. We are willing to give every assistance, but we shall say that as from yesterday the negotiations have again reached deadlock. At the same time, comrades, analysis, study, and prediction of all the processes underway in the naval forces under my command show that haste in carrying out the decisions that are being made—and the Ukraine is in such a hurry—regarding personnel, will to a maximal degree undermine the foundations of the service, the moral and pyschological state of the men, and will disrupt the unified system of explosion and fire safety on board the ships and the unsinkability of the ships and vessels and the protection of weapons and ammunition, including nuclear ones, the material and technical backup of the units, and will also considerably worsen the ecological situation.

I reported all this when I was in Kiev. I informed the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense. But for some reason nobody is interested and no attention is being paid to it.

Esteemed comrades! None of the world's navies, none of the crews of warships, submarines, and aircraft have ever been subjected to the terrible ordeal of having the continuity of their traditions interrupted and destroyed, of seeing the destruction of ties of fraternity and comradeship which are so characteristic of sailors. Experience shows that the morale and confidence of service collectives and sailors have always been vulnerable at times of change, even when it is just the twice-yearly rotation of manpower. This has often had a negative impact on discipline and service organization. How can such a slump in morale be coped with today when all these processes have been taken to extremes? The adoption of a new oath to a single state has split, first and foremost, the officer corps, the backbone of our service, our precious asset.

As commander of the Fleet I am responsible for the Fleet's combat readiness. I am responsible for the officers and men. I am obliged to ensure equal conditions for the exercise of their right to perform service in accordance with the law, obliged to ensure that they are not utterly ruined, which is what will happen if an oath has to be sworn to one single state. As commander, what will I be told by the fathers of those young men? No doubt they also served in the forces. What will Army and Navy veterans say?

The Black Sea Fleet and its officers have been earmarked for decisive reshaping and reduction by the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, which considers that it has nationalized the Black Sea Fleet—without, of course, drawing up any scientifically based plans for its use in combat. But what about the future of officers and warrant officers? They still know nothing about this. What about the 64,000 blue and white-collar employees of enterprises serving the Black Sea Fleet? They belong to a powerful trade union. This trade union gave even me a hard time—it has learned from the strike movement in the Donetsk mines. So, it's difficult to see how the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense will get on with them.

Esteemed comrades! Warships and submarines do not run on ceremony. They are operated in accordance with Navy regulations. No fewer than 45 of these apply to warships. It's not just a question, comrades, of whether the Fleet can fight under the condition proposed by the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense. There is also the possibility of safety regulations being broken, the possibility that human lives may be jeopardized. What will sailors' mothers say to us?

During his election campaign the Ukrainian president, Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk, was received in Sevastopol. At a meeting with officers he said that the Ukraine did not need the Black Sea Fleet. We will create our own small fleet, he said. He also confirmed this to me when I introduced myself to him. Now he has executed a complete turnaround. Now he wants the entire Fleet. Well, 73 percent of our men voted for Comrade Kravchuk. The rest voted for the five other candidates.

Esteemed comrade presidents! Esteemed president of Kazakhstan, we have very profound respect for you. Here we are greeting you, it turns out. [applause] Let me tell you that representatives of your republic—state—are performing very well in the Black Sea Fleet. We want them to keep on serving with us. [applause] Naval officers, in particular those serving with the Black Sea Fleet, do not deserve refugee status, if only because they love their service and have their own convictions and sense of honor. They wish to serve honestly, not just one single nation but the nations of the entire Commonwealth.

The Black Sea Fleet is an operational and strategic formation. It must... is obliged to tackle its objectives in accordance with its status within the strategic forces, in the interests of the entire Commonwealth. But I don't wish to report the views of Black Sea officers alone. A meeting of officers serving throughout the Navy was held yesterday. I am authorized to report the following to all the presidents of the Commonwealth countries, to you, comrade commander in chief, and to all those present.

1. The Armed Forces must be a single force, under a single command. [applause]

This view was expressed most emphatically. I am using that word to gloss over all the, how shall I put it, all the resolute phrases used by a number of officers. I choose to tone them down. The recommendation was that the government should at long last get on with sorting out the economy and leave the Armed Forces to look after our defenses within the single Commonwealth system. [applause]

2. The Black Sea Fleet is an inalienable part of the entire Navy, of the system of strategic forces.

When Boris Nikolayevich declared during his tour that the Black Sea Fleet is Russian, this was very enthusiastically received by all the officers and men of the Black Sea Fleet. [applause] Officers should stop taking the Ukrainian oath. The Fleet's officers have made it clear that it is immoral to swear a second oath to one single state. [applause]

4. [as heard] In all countries of the Commonwealth an identical package comprising all the laws on social provision and social protection for servicemen should be passed—an identical package. And in conclusion, esteemed comrades, I would like to thank everyone who shares our thoughts and concerns. I ask the esteemed presidents to heed what is being said by naval officers on questions concerning stabilization of the situation in the Armed Forces, and specically in the Black Sea Fleet. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Meeting Continues

LD1701141892

[Editorial Report] Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian, in parallel with Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian, resumes at 1402 GMT on 17 January its live relay of the Army Officers Assembly taking place in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

The session begins with Stolyarov giving the floor to Captain Soldatenkov, who speaks on behalf of the Unified Committee of Moscow Servicemen. He urges the republics to maintain unified armed forces.

At 1407 GMT Russian President Boris Yeltsin begins to speak, concluding his remarks at 1433 GMT.

At 1434 GMT live relay continues.

Stolyarov outlines procedural proposals concerning the conference, saying its subject should be the future of the Armed Forces, and it should end with an appeal to the peoples and governments of the Commonwealth states. He takes a vote on the proposed agenda. There is a show of hands in favor.

At 1437 GMT Viktor Alksnis speaks, concluding his remarks at about 1444 GMT.

At 1444 GMT Stolyarov summarizes greetings to the conference from Russian parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov and wishes Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy a swift recovery from his present illness.

At 1445 GMT the floor is given to Captain Kozyrev from the border troops. He condemns actions taken by Geydar Aliyev in Nakhichevan. Other delegates call for the rights of servicemen to be defended.

At 1507 GMT Stolyarov proposes taking a vote on the issue of preserving unified armed forces, as many delegates have requested, but a delegate from the Transcarpathian Military District says the conference would be voting for something that cannot be fulfilled.

At 1509 GMT Shaposhnikov announces that the 14th Army has been placed under the control of the land forces, and General Gromov, first deputy commander of the land forces, has been dispatched on a factfinding mission. There is then further discussion from the floor.

At 1516 GMT Stolyarov announces a 20 minute interval. The live relay ends without any announcement of further coverage.

Live relay resumes at 1539 GMT.

A delegate outlines procedural proposals concerning an officers' council and elections to this council. The delegate also calls for a moratorium on taking the Ukrainian military oath.

At 1541 GMT, Shaposhnikov calls for order in the hall, saying: "We are turning into USSR deputies in the worst sense." He reminds the officers that they are on television. He reads out greetings to the Army assembly from the Russian parliament. He then invites Nikolay Stolyarov to continue with the agenda.

Captain Kovalenko from Sevastopol describes that city as a symbol for generations of Russian sailors. He says that the assembly must seek a special status for Sevastopol.

At 1546 GMT the floor is given to Neizmatov, an Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium member and chairman of its defense committee, who explains why Uzbek President Karimov is absent. He says that floods in Karakalpakia have kept the president at home. On behalf of Karimov, he says Uzbekistan supports unified armed forces, as Karimov told Shaposhnikov a few days ago. He outlines a decision made by the republic's parliament to help servicemen. He states that Uzbekistan regards social protection for servicemen as more than rhetoric. He assures the assembly that Uzbekistan is doing its bit to ensure a supply of conscripts. Uzbekistan wants to be with the Army and does not seek confrontation. The Armed Forces should be a school of courage and internationalism. The Uzbek Supreme Soviet is at your service, he says, and will do all it can to help. Neizmatov ends his speech to applause.

Shaposhnikov then reads a question from the floor. He explains that Yeltsin has left to attend a meeting with Landsbergis. He apologizes for Yeltsin's absence, but says that the officers cannot expect Yeltsin to be present to answer every one of the 200 or so questions. Shaposhnikov says he will try to answer them instead. He notes that his own tour of the units shows that many problems can be resolved on the spot. This applies to Transcaucasus and other areas. Then an announcement is made about a meeting of the drafting committee.

An officer takes the microphone next to thank Yeltsin and Nazarbayev for having the courage to attend the meeting. Unfortunately, he says, other presidents did not have this courage, with the exception of Karimov, who has a good reason to be absent due to the flooding in his republic. The officer then states that a vote in favor of a unified armed forces will make no difference, because this meeting has no legislative role. Only the signatures of all the presidents can achieve this. Without this nothing can be achieved. The officer proposes that on 14 February a meeting of officers with the presidents be held in Minsk to discuss compensation. He says that the presidents must confront this question. They must be told that there must be a single armed forces.

At 1608 GMT Major (Sachko) from Kiev begins to speak on behalf of forces there. He says it is time to confront the truth: the Union has ceased to exist and so has the united Armed forces. Ukraine is moving steadily to set up its own Army. (Sachko) speaks about taking a new oath in Ukraine, noting that his unit has taken the new oath and that other units are also taking the new oath. Kravchuk is executing the wishes of the Ukrainian people. No decisions have yet been made on an interrepublican level. He then asks Shaposhnikov whether he realizes that a number of units are now under the control of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense. He says there is too much talk about officers. There has not been enough discussion about the position of the rank and file. There is a danger that our anti-aircraft unit, the only one covering Ukraine, will soon be undermanned, because soldiers are returning home. (Sachko) says he is authorized to read a statement on behalf of his unit. Why are officers deserting their units? Only 40 officers do not want to take the new Ukrainian oath, he says. The rest are willing to take it. We expect balanced decisions, he concludes. An appeal has been passed to Morozov. It is now passed to Yeltsin via Shaposhnikov.

An officer then speaks from the floor, suggesting that officers from the republics whose presidents are absent should pass a vote of no confidence in them.

Next Shaposhnikov reads a suggestion that an officers' council be set up and an appeal adopted.

Lieutenant Colonel (Solodkov) comes to the rostrum at 1618 GMT. He says he has been serving in the Baltic republics. The officers he represents consider that the present situation is extremely dangerous. Hasty decisions on the Armed Forces were made in Minsk. We support democratic reforms, he says, but democracy is dictatorship of the law, not the arbitrary rule we are observing at the moment. We favor unified armed forces in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. This would inhibit ethnic conflict. He says the those he represents oppose the breakup of the army. He notes that the officers' corps needs legal protection. Slanderers of the Armed Forces should be brought to account before the law. Social issues should be given particular attention during the Armed Forces reform. Officers' apartments should be made their private property after retirement. The original martial oath of allegience was to all the peoples of the Soviet Union, so a second oath is not necessary. The Soviet officers' corps will be unnecessary for the new states based on a national principle in a few years and will be thrown out. The higher officers' school is being destroyed throughout the former Union, especially on the periphery. Officers and cadets are being thrown out of their homes in the Baltics and discriminated against.

Colonel Bedke, a tank officer from the Moscow Garrison, takes the floor at 1630 GMT. An analysis of the current situation shows that a military threat to the CIS remains. He stresses the importance of the tank corps as a strike force. Each independent state may have its own armed forces, but not through surgical methods the patient may not survive. He proposes maintaining the integrity of the Armed Forces in the interim. He proposes negotiations between CIS officials with the participation of representatives of the officers' corps to ensure this. He calls for a decision to be adopted to stop the "parade of oaths of allegience." He also complains about the "plundering of state property," particularly in Moscow.

Shaposhnikov then gives Colonel Kondalevskiy the floor regarding elections for a coordination committee of the officers' corps. Kondalevskiy enumerates the proposed proportions of representatives on the coordination committee. It is proposed that a chairman of an organizational committee be proposed for approval by the assembly. The mass of representatives have been elected, and those not yet elected must be elected in the interval now.

At 1643 GMT a 15 minute interval is announced.

Live relay continues at 1704 GMT.

Shaposhnikov says Belyavskiy has been talking to Yeltsin and gives Belyavskiy the floor at 1705 GMT. Belyavskiy says that everyone in the hall wants unified armed forces. It is not enough to form a coordination council. He says that the Armed Forces should be treated as the 12th unit in negotiations among the 11 states. Yeltsin has said that he will support the status of the Armed Forces as groups of troops, if this is agreed by the assembly.

A speaker from the floor then suggests that the leaders of the two committees of the Russian Supreme Soviet be delegated to this conference. Shaposhnikov suggests electing a chairman for a coordination council now and the rest of the members by 10 February. An unidentified officer proposes that the strategic missile troops have five representatives, instead of three, on the coordination council. An officer from the Far East complains that his military district has far more soldiers than others, yet the same number of representatives. An unidentified officer reminds the hall that the coordination council's functions and status have not yet been defined.

Shaposhnikov indicates that it is necessary to create the structure and then decide what it should do. He reiterates the quota of representatives to the coordination council. A majority vote approves these quotas by a show of hands. Shaposhnikov decides that the representatives be appointed here and now. Then a speaker from the floor asks for a vote on the hall's opinion on a united armed forces.

Colonel Slesarev takes the floor at 1719 GMT to read a sociological study of the opinion of the officer corps. Shaposhnikov proposes that these results be published in the press.

A speaker from the floor says that tomorrow will be too late to make a decision on a united armed forces. Shaposhnikov cuts him off, saying that he will not make any ultimatums. Shouting is heard from the hall.

At 1725 GMT, Colonel Denisov takes the floor and addresses the assembly for a few minutes.

An officer from Lipetsk, speaking from the floor, says that there must be a referendum on a united armed forces if there is not a single concept decided by the CIS leaders. An officer from Groznyy then calls for the resignation of Shaposhnikov, saying he has shown by his behavior that he does not want to be with us. Shaposhnikov says goodbye and that he is resigning. He leaves the rostrum, but returns to applause.

At 1735 GMT, Shaposhnikov addresses the assembly for a few minutes.

Following Shaposhnikov's extemporaneous speech, an unidentified officer jumps to the rostrum and says that if Shaposhnikov is dismissed, the Army would be destroyed. Deynikin, an Air Force officer, says that his delegation will leave the conference if Shaposhnikov goes. Kozhendyayev then urges that this provocation be ceased. An Army marshal then asks the officer who asked for Shaposhnikov's resignation to apologize or to leave the hall. He recalls how he fought during the Great Patriotic War and in Afghanistan. He says that single states cannot effect a modernization of the Armed Forces on their own, and restraint must be demonstrated by Kravchuk and Shushkevich.

At 1750 GMT, Shaposhnikov leaves. After Shaposhnikov's walkout, the chairman proposes that the commander in chief be invited back into the auditorium. He asks for a vote on this motion. The motion is unanimously carried. Karpenko gets up and describes calls for Shaposhnikov's resignation as "outbursts" ill-becoming an officers' assembly, a remark greeted with applause. Shaposhnikov returns to a standing ovation.

At 1751 GMT, Shaposhnikov says: "Thank you for that vote of confidence, comrade officers. In response to what comrades have been saying, I would like to say the following. On 30 December, on behalf of their peoples, the presidents signed a declaration saying that the peoples, states, and presidents have the right to establish their own armed forces. In my view the best possible way of doing this has to be found. Therefore, I favor joint armed forces during the transitional period. I believe that all the questions should be settled without tears and suffering for your families and yourselves. Can't you understand? What else can be done? What do you expect me to do—order the troops to turn their guns and tanks on Moscow? We have had all that already, but that is precisely what they were hinting at. I know what this would mean. We are not Thailand. We represent one-sixth of the earth's surface. We are being looked upon, comrades, as sick. I beg your forgiveness."

Shaposhnikov's words are greeted with muted applause.

Karpenko begins again at 1753 GMT, saying Shaposhnikov should be supported. Bryangen from the Carpathian District calls for toleration, although he is against united forces. Aksenov then reminds the hall about hostage-taking and attacks on the Armed Forces. This should be described as state terrorism and should be outlawed. The officers' assembly must declare the impossibility of territorial claims.

A Baltic Fleet officer states that the status of the Armed Forces in the Baltics and Georgia should be determined. An unidentified officer says that the "Soviet" Army remains united; he believes that a second oath is a betrayal of the people. Then an officer sitting next to Shaposhnikov sums up the proposal as that of rescinding the Minsk agreement. The previous officer remains on the rostrum and continues shouting about the "Soviet Army."

Gorbatov, of the Independent Association of Officers of Ukraine, expresses his solidarity with those refusing to take a second oath. He claims that a witch hunt is starting in Ukraine and asks for solidarity.

Armanyuk, an anti-aircraft defense officer, says that he trusts Shaposhnikov. He says that without a mandate of trust Shaposhnikov cannot work. The appeal on creating the officers' council is then adopted unanimously.

An officer from the hall then proposes the functions of a temporary coordination council, after which it should be replaced by a standing council.

At 1808, an unidentified officer reads out a list of candidates for the coordination council. The first two names on a list of approximately 100 officers are Alksnis and Petrushenko. Each is greeted with applause. An officer in the hall asks which military district these two colonels represent. Colonel Sadovoy from Kiev picks up on this point.

Sadovoy says: "I hope you do not mind my saying so, but I do not think the council will succeed if both Colonels Alksnis and Petrushenko are members. Its work will fail. The council will be split right from the start and there will be no unity. Regardless of your attitude toward these people, whether it be admiration or contempt, I ask you not to include them on the council. Otherwise there will be disunity." Applause greets his words.

The assembly is then asked who supports the proposal not to include Alksnis and Petrushenko on the coordinating council. A majority show of hands supports their exclusion. The remaining candidates are approved.

A major takes the floor to say that the adopted appeal does not mention that the Armed Forces has the right to answer force with force. He proposes that the candidates for the coordination council be voted on by their military districts.

At 1821 GMT, Shaposhnikov says that the coordination council has been elected, so he declares the officer's assembly closed.

The live relay ends at 1822 GMT.

Yeltsin Address

LD1701162492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1407 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Speech by Russian President Boris Yeltsin at the Army Officers' Assembly in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow on 17 January—live]

[Text] Esteemed officers, participants in the Officers' Assembly:

You have come from all over Russia and from other Commonwealth states for reasons which are, of course, serious—reasons that currently worry all servicemen, from private to marshal, and that worry all citizens. The very fact of the Army's entry into the political arena speaks of the poor state of affairs in society and in the Army itself. It is all the more important today to examine calmly, without dramatics or emotions, without letting political passions get out of hand, what is happening to the Armed Forces and to adopt sensible decisions.

I, Russia's president, elected by the people, appeal to your honor as officers, to your dignity: Preserve civic calm. It is easy to start a fire but it will be immeasurably more difficult to put it out. The August putsch and, subsequently, the will of a majority of the Union republics made it impossible for the unitarian state to exist. However, the establishment of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] gives us a chance to preserve the closest economic, ethnic, and spiritual ties among our peoples, who have a common destiny, history, and hopes.

A most complex process of seeking a historic compromise on the issue of the Armed Forces is under way. It must not be frustrated; it must be concluded with a concrete and clear result. Close coordination in the military area, especially regarding nuclear weapons, is a most important factor for political stability, both in each of our states and in the CIS as a whole. These issues were solved right away, and the fundamental unity of the positions of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine was confirmed in Alma-Ata, Minsk, and yesterday in Moscow.

At the top, control of nuclear forces is in the hands of only two persons: the Russian president and the commander in chief of the united Armed Forces. Commonwealth states are in favor of united strategic armed forces with a single command and united control. Military cooperation among states—and world experience confirms this—does not infringe upon independence but, on the contrary, strengthens it and steps up the state's potential in ensuring its own security.

There is progress, however difficult. There is a striving of Commonwealth member states to attain positive solutions. This was confirmed once again by yesterday's meeting of the leaders of CIS member countries. A number of important documents was signed. An accord in principle was reached on forming within a week a plenipotentiary working group of representatives of states in order to examine a whole complex of issues of the Soviet Armed Forces.

In the first place, this is a question of social protection, the civil and political status of servicemen and their family members on the Commonwealth member states' territories, and the financing of the Armed Forces. The foreign ministers have been instructed to examine the question of ratifying the treaty on cutting strategic offensive weapons and the treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe, and also of observing other international treaties of the former USSR in the spheres of internatonal security, disarmament, and weapons control. There can be no question of allowing the duties that the USSR took upon itself to ensure international security to be buried.

Russia will do everything to ensure this does not happen. The CIS states are beginning a permanent talks process on military issues. I think that the sides should now, when adopting political decisions, take into account to the greatest degree the position of the servicemen themselves, including the decisions of the All-Army Officers' Assembly. Yesterday's meeting signed a protocol on naval symbols. This has particular significance. For several weeks the status of naval ships and vessels has been undefined. Our fleet is outside the protection of international law. It was necessary to regulate this issue immediately. Any delay in resolving this issue could have brought unpredictable consequences. The Commonwealth heads of state agreed that the naval fleet is part of our united strategic forces.

Units of the Black Sea Fleet and warship units of the Caspian Flotilla will have their fate decided by separate agreements between Russia and the Ukraine, Russia, and Azerbaijan. From now on, the historical Russian flag of St. Andrew becomes the main Navy flag to be displayed at the stern. [applause] It is, you know, a white sheet with two diagonal blue stripes.

The issue of the oath in the Commonwealth strategic forces and general purpose forces has been resolved. It is the commander in chief of the Commonwealth Armed Forces who determines the procedure and the time for servicemen serving in the general purpose forces to swear their military oath. A decision has been adopted that only the conscripts, the new recruits, will have to swear the oath. Officers, as has been the case before, too, faithful to their honor, do not take a second oath. [applause]

Unfortunately, out of the 11 states, seven adopted the same oath both for the strategic forces and the general purpose armed forces. The Ukraine, Belarus, Azerbaijan, and Moldova did not join here. However, Belarus is for the unified armed forces, including general purpose forces. Taking into account the Supreme Soviet decision, it is only against an identical oath. The Commonwealth heads of states have reaffirmed the readiness to conclude an agreement on the status of the Armed Forces on the territories of the Commonwealth member states, and to do it in the nearest future—and, to be more precise, on 14 February.

The appropriate documents will be sent to all heads of state—I think probably not later than today, Yevgeniy Ivanovich. All issues of cuts in and restationing of troops will be decided only on the legal basis of the CIS states. There was, of course, a difference of opinion on what constitutes the strategic armed forces. In our understanding, these are not just armed forces which have nuclear weapons. In our opinion the naval fleet, the naval air force, anti-aircraft defense, strategic nuclear weapons, tactical nuclear weapons, intelligence, observation, and monitoring should be included here. These are the united strategic Armed Forces of all Commonwealth countries, all CIS countries.

The Commonwealth states have announced their wish to rule out any limitation to the rights and freedoms of servicemen and their families. A decision has been made on developing and adopting in the shortest possible time a program to resolve housing questions. Accordingly, financing by Russia in 1992 for housing will grow. An agreement in principle has been achieved on an agreed method for providing pensions for servicemen on the territories of Commonwealth states.

Other decisions have also been adopted—not only on the Armed Forces. I will simply list them. Yesterday, there were 15 issues on the agenda, namely on: our delegation in the United Nations, or, to be more precise, at the 31 January Security Council session, of which the Russian Federation is at present a permanent member. A common decision has been adopted to the effect that the commander in chief of the united Armed Forces, Marshal Shaposhnikov, will be a member of the delegation; on economic reform and the liberalization of prices, on the abolition of the licensing and quantitative regulation of technical industrial products and commodities exported from the states of the CIS—we have adopted only general decisions in this regard, but taking into consideration the fact that we have closer ties with Kazakhstan, we signed a bilateral agreement today with Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev on a complete solution to these questions and on the complete abolition of licensing and quantitative regulation of all commodities that are transferred from Russia to Kazakhstan and from Kazakhstan to Russia [applause]; on the fulfillment of the agreements concluded between the states of the CIS in Minsk and Alma-Ata; on the abolition of taxation during mutual transit between the states of the CIS; and on the maintenance of economic ties for the first quarter of 1992 at the level of 1991.

However, it must be said bluntly that not all the leaders of the Commonwealth member states are on top of the situation. Some are making hasty decisions and are liable to errors. Nevertheless, things are moving forward, albeit slowly. I believe that in this situation the servicemen should maintain a balanced and calm position, with restraint and understanding. We Russians, and I as president, believe that those armed forces which find themselves outside the states of the CIS and in the Baltic republics, in Georgia, and outside the territory of the former Union should be taken under the jurisdiction and protection of the Russian Federation. [applause]

Today, everyone is familiar with the dangerous attempt to play the Army card, to draw the Army into ideological confrontation, and to use it as a means for achieving political aims. It is to the honor of the Armed Forces that such attempts have not been crowned with success. At the decisive moment of August 1991, the servicemen displayed their best patriotic and human qualities, did not allow themselves to be drawn into the ruinous conflagration of confrontation, and preserved civic peace.

On more than one occasion, the Army has been placed in the most extreme conditions. It has frequently been forced to make a difficult choice. Today, the question has arisen particularly acutely regarding the future of the Armed Forces. I will not conceal that varying approaches have arisen to this question. The main problem is to determine most precisely how the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth will be constructed, who will lead them, and what their functions will be. It is clear that the principle of a simple, elementary division of the single Army organism is unacceptable. In this regard Russia, like Kazakhstan—as the saying goes—will fight to the end for united armed forces. [applause]

But you know that in accordance with the wishes of a number of parliaments of other states, the problem of the national armies of the states of the CIS is being discussed and decided. The position of the Russian leadership on this question is definite and clear. Russia has come out for, and continues to come out firmly for a united armed forces. This approach makes it possible to arrange an effective system of security within the framework of a single defense space. It is precisely this approach which makes it possible to resolve the question of financing the Army, providing equal guarantees for the social and legal protection of all servicemen.

Russia is displaying great endurance. We were not the pioneers in creating a national army. You must understand, however, that if the majority of the republics begin to form their own armed forces, we shall be left with no choice but to do the same. But this will not be our choice. I say this with complete responsibility.

There is yet another very acute question. The most anxiety and alarm is being expressed, and with good grounds, by the personnel of the forces who are at present outside the CIS—I have already spoken about these—and at hotpoints. I declare that Russia is taking under its jurisdiction all the forces which are outside the CIS, while at the same time proposing to begin talks on their future. I have issued a decree to confirm such a special commission on these talks.

I believe nobody will perceive this step as imperial designs. We proceed from the need for immediate political and social protection for servicemen and their families in these regions. I am asking the heads of independent states and citizens to appreciate this forced step correctly.

The issue of the upkeep of the Armed Forces is a most important one. The Russian Government has reached complete mutual understanding with the Supreme Command on the military budget, although talks were not easy. Naturally, it does not take into account the independent states' expenditure on the formation of their own national armies. The new budget is based on a fundamentally different approach. For the first time in the Soviet Army's history, Russia has adopted a socially targeted military budget—socially targeted, I will stress. For the first time in the Army's history, 60 percent of all the funds of the military budget have a human orientation. Those items of the budget for which there was no money and which were shifted onto the Army's shoulders are becoming priorities. Russia is now taking upon itself conversion, NIOKR [research and experimental construction development] sales and part of expenditure without shifting it onto the Army's shoulders. If we preserve people and help them to pull through hard times, then we will preserve everything: hardware, armaments, and the security and independence of CIS member countries. Military expenditure has been reduced, but primarily at the expense of reducing the production of armaments, combat hardware, and the volumes of military construction.

Despite Russia's most difficult situation, we have in connection with the liberalization of prices increased remuneration by 90 percent. Indexation of servicemen's money allowances is being introduced in 1992. The level of money allowance will be reviewed regularly, at least once every three months, taking into account price rises. We are covering not only the armed forces on the Russian Federation's territory, but also the others, except for the four states which have announced their own armed forces.

The most urgent problem for the Armed Forces is that of housing. The number of those in need of housing exceeds 300,000 families, of whom about 200,000 have nowhere to live [beskvartirniye]; this includes 120,000 on Russian territory. The situation is likely to become still more complicated in connection with the withdrawal of troops from eastern Europe and Mongolia, the forthcoming relocation of units from the Baltic and Transcaucasus, cutbacks in the Armed Forces, and the need to provide apartments for servicemen who want to return to their home areas. A considerable increase in the volume of housing construction is required and original decisions are called for. I am making these, along with the High Command.

Implementation has begun of an accord with Germany to build military towns in the territory of the states to which units are being withdrawn from the former GDR. The housing debt—120,000 in the Russian Federation—must, I say today, be paid off in the first six months of this year. Those heads of administration... [interrupted by applause] Those heads of administration who do not comply with this decision and decree of the president in the oblasts and krays will be removed from office on the results of the first six months. [applause]

Moreover, under an agreement with the mayor of Moscow and Moscow Oblast and the Mayor of St. Petersburg and Leningrad Oblast, 20,000 hectares of land, giving approximately 70,000 families ten-hundredths of a hectare each, are allocated for demobilized officers who could build their own individual homes here. In Moscow, this is approximately one-third of what is allocated for the whole of Moscow, and half in St. Petersburg. Is this not to your liking? [pauses; applause after delay] I think this is a great help, just having ten-hundredths.

Now I'll talk about—I'll talk about... [changes thought] Various countries in the world are now expressing the desire to acquire certain types of military equipment. I talk fairly frequently to Bush, and we have talked about the fact that we should not divide up the arms trade market, but should trade in those weapons that are permitted according to international treaties. We are ready to go for this temporarily, for as long as there exist certain difficulties concerning the budget for the Army, and to earmark the hard currency thus gained to build housing, mainly for the officers' corps. Moreover, it is not only the construction organizations, but also personnel that would be financed. What is planned is that out of the money thus gained, officers would get 1,000, or 2,000, or 3,000 dollars in order to be able to build a home of their own on that land plot. [applause]

A special program is now being worked out to provide servicemen with housing ahead of schedule. An accord has been reached with Marshal Shaposhnikov to extend to the Armed Forces a right to engage in commercial activity within districts and within armies, something that is very, very important. This must not, of course, be to the detriment of combat readiness. The Ministry of Defense is currently preparing the necessary documents. None of these decisions have been dictated by short-term considerations. They stem from our firm conviction to defend the people who wear epaulettes. This must be done quickly. An All-Russian Officer Retraining Center has been set up; it is for officers who are joining the reserves.

It is Russia's lot to have inherited a heavy legacy; you know that. One example only: over the past few years—well, not just the past few years but, to be more precise, since 1985, when we had 2,500 tonnes of gold in our gold reserves, while 230 tonnes remain today—over these past seven years, well over 2,000 tonnes of gold have been squandered, and it is not yet known where it has gone. Currently this is subject to separate criminal proceedings as part of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] proceedings and it will be attentively looked into, along with the issue of personal deposits in foreign banks belonging to those who are now being brought to book, the SCSE members, and also along with the issue of the party money.

I have received numerous appeals from officers, including those present here, to the effect that the decisions that have been adopted on social protection are not being fulfilled in the localities, and not only because there exist some so-called objective reasons. A process of consciously putting a brake on and even sabotaging many questions is under way. My attitude toward this issue is unequivocal. A leader must bear responsibility for the non-fulfillment of Russian laws, decrees, and instructions. According to the president's last decree, the fine for failing to comply with a presidential decree is, for the first offense, 5,000 rubles [R]; for the second offense, it is R25,000; and for the third offense, two years' deprivation of freedom. [applause] I think this will sober up many people. There is an accord in principle within the parliament of Russia to adopt special, additional measures on this issue in the shortest possible time.

In conclusion, I wish to say the following. Russia has no intention of warring with anyone. We solemnly declare that we believe in the priority of political means in ensuring our state's and our Commonwealth's security.

But the main lesson of our history is in the following: the peace and confidence of our citizens can be ensured only if everything is all right in the Armed Forces. Russia is a young state, though it has a thousand-year-old history. Much has to be revived today, but we have a special attitude toward centuries-old traditions of army and navy life. I would like to appeal to you who are participants of the meeting. Let us take care of the abiding values, such as love toward the motherland, the honor and dignity of an officer. Let us instill confidence into our citizens with our well-balanced attitude, our calmness and nobleness. We have managed to overcome difficulties that were more difficult than those we face now. We will also overcome these. We are officers, and this means a lot.

Today, the Russian Federation is looking to us as the defenders of freedom and of our hopes for a better life. I am sure that you will be equal to the demands of life. It is precisely today, as many a time before, that we all need victory: a victory in peaceful tasks, in the difficult reforms that have been started already. If we go ahead together, if we manage to avoid being dragged into internal strife, if we do not lose our nerve and do not panic, the victory will by all means be ours, on the side of Russia, on the side of the people of Russia and all the peoples of the states of the Commonwealth. The Army and the people are one. This is our credo, and this will remain unchanged. Thank you.

Alksnis Gives Speech

LD1701183192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1437 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Speech by Colonel Viktor Alksnis at the Army Officers' Assembly in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow on 17 January—live]

[Text] Comrade officers, I have often spoken from the rostrum but this is probably my most important speech. Today we are in such a state that no one can even say what we should do next, where we are to go. In one good old film one of the heroes said there is a job to be done: to defend the homeland. Today it is becoming clear that we have no homeland because we have been deprived of it.

I recall that sunny day in September, 1968 when on the parade ground of the Riga Aviation Engineering College I took the oath of allegiance to the homeland and said that I swear, at the command of the Soviet government, to act in defense of my homeland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. [applause]

Where is it, this government which today can give me this command, where is this homeland to which I swore allegiance? It does not exist. I am expressing my own personal view. Evidently it coincides with the views of many others. I personally am convinced that a coup has taken place in the country and that the legally elected authorities have been overthrown by force. [applause]

So, there are realities. Yes, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies virtually deprived itself of the power which the people had entrusted to it. And I—I am ashamed for my fellow USSR People's Deputies, who, with their own hands, destroyed this state by virtue of their lack of principle, by virtue of their faintheartedness. I cannot choose any other words.

Well then, what is being proposed to us today is the Commonwealth of Independent States—after all, this is a fiction. For the umpteenth time a historical experiment is being carried out on our peoples. For the umpteenth time we are attempting to build communism in one specific country. But already the first weeks of the so-called Commonwealth of Independent States have shown that this is a fiction. Where is that single ruble space of which they tried to convince us for so long? Where is that single economic space that we were promised? Where is that single army that we were also promised? It does not exist and will never exist. The process has gotten underway, as Gorbachev once said and evidently it will continue to its logical conclusion.

Today, indeed, we are assured that the Soviet Union no longer exists. But, with respect, those 5,000 people who are now in this hall, the hundreds of thousands of people in Army uniform—we must ask ourselves are they not that state—after all the Army is one of the main instruments of state power, one of the symbols of this state, and the army is real. Today a determined attempt is being made to break up the unified economy, while at the same time everyone claims to be in favor of a single economic space. But everyone is setting up customhouses, everyone is introducing restrictive licensing, and so on, and so on, and so on.

[Yeltsin, interjecting] Russia is not introducing them.

[Alksnis resumes] As a result everything will collapse. Slogans and idle talk can now be heard about the Army getting involved in politics. But no, excuse me, I don't agree. The Army is not getting involved in politics. I have always opposed the Army's involvement in politics and been in favor of its being depoliticized. But now we are talking about the fate of the state.

The Army—I say yet again—is one of the pillars of the state and it is for this very reason that its response has been so pained. And yet, the Army is not getting involved in politics. If we were deciding the issue of political power in the country, between the Communist Party and, say, the Democratic Party, or any other party, we would fulfill the duty of our service and support the party that gained victory in the elections. But today it is the fate of the state that is being decided and we can no longer remain in the role of UN observers because the fate of each one of us is being decided, the fate of every citizen of this country, the fate of our children, and those close to us.

People say nowadays that we shall soon get out of this impasse and set out for a kingdom of democracy and freedom, that the economic reforms that are being carried out will enable us to find a way out. [bell rings and voice says: "We said five minutes in the standing order"]

As for specific proposals, at the moment, a very interesting thing is taking place. There have been so many attempts to distract us from real affairs, restrict us to empty talk about how bad it is. We will go our separate ways and I can assure you that we shall never meet here again and shall never again have any influence whatsoever on what is happening in the country. [bell rings again]

[Shaposhnikov, interjecting] Comrade Colonel. You are not the one who will convene people and you should not be agitating here.

[Alksnis resumes] I suggest that a coordination council should be elected only here, at the congress or at the officers' assembly. It should be vested with broad powers. Elections of chairman of this assembly are required and they should be held precisely here, at the all-Army assembly. At the instruction of the All-Army Officers' Assembly the coordination council should address leaders of independent states in order to have its own representative as observer at talks on military and strategic issues and in order to be able to put forward the views of officers' corps at these talks.

That is what I wanted to tell you. [applause]

Poll Results Noted

LD1701233192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1719 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Report by Colonel Slesarev at the evening session of the Army Officers' Assembly at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow on 17 January—live]

[Text] Comrade officers! The Center for the Study of Public Opinion and the Association of Military Sociologists circulated 2,500 questionnaires today. We already have preliminary figures. Thank you for taking an active part. Now permit me to read some Of the preliminary results of this survey.

To the question: What is the population's attitude toward servicemen at present? The answers are: good—57 percent; bad—38 percent. The second question is: What kind of armed forces should there be in the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] at present? The answers are: With a single command—72 percent [applause]; joint forces of the CIS states along the lines of the Warsaw Treaty—20 percent; independent armed forces of the CIS states—seven percent. The third question is: What political stance should the Army take at present? The replies are: await the decisions that the politicians work out regarding the Armed Forces—15 percent; but 82 percent expressed the view that in issues concerning the future armed forces, the decisive voice should belong to the Armed Forces themselves. [applause] The last preliminary result on the essential structures today for work in the sphere of human relations show that 53 percent replied that a sociopsychological and social service is needed; 30 percent favor creating such a structure as deputy commanders for educational work; 17 percent favor assistants to the commander for educational work; 13 percent favor special services; eight percent favor Army priests; and three percent favor the former political organs. These are just some of the figures from the 27 questions to which you replied.

I think that in the course of the week the remaining results will be processed. You will receive comprehensive results on this questionnaire.

Thank you for your attention and for the work you have done.

Draft Appeal Read

LD1801035192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1725 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Draft appeal read by Colonel Denisov to the assembly of Army officers in the Moscow Kremlin Palace of Congresses on 17 January—live]

[Text] Appeal to the peoples, parliaments, and heads of government of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], and to the personnel of the Armed Forces. We, participants in the All-Army Assembly of Officers voice our profound concern, pain, and alarm over the disintegration of the Armed Forces that has begun. The haste and lack of thought with which the partition of the Army and Navy, which has existed as a single mighty organism, is proceeding could lead to tragic consequences in the context of an unstable political situation and economic chaos. This would cause the living conditions of millions of people to deteriorate sharply, have a baneful effect on the level of security and defense capability of all the states of the Commonwealth and damage cooperation with the countries of the world community.

The Army has always possessed a strong consolidating principle. The sacred traditions of combined action and combat brotherhood of our peoples in the defense of the fatherland have taken centuries to evolve. Irrespective of what nationality we belong to, we men of the Army and Navy, brothers in spirit and in blood, do not want the political aspirations and personal interests and ambitions of certain shortsighted leaders to estrange us and leave us on different sides of the barricades. We are linked by our common past, a difficult present, and a concern for the future of the homeland.

We appeal to all the peoples of the CIS. It will above all be people who will perish in the flames of (?deliberate, unintentional) conflagrations to which the hasty dismemberment of the Armed Forces could lead. Your views carry much weight and we ask you to make them known to politicians and to come out in support of the preservation of a single armed forces until normative acts guaranteeing the security of each state and the Commonwealth as a whole come into force.

It is our duty to achieve this. It is the foundation of freedom and democracy. The men of the Army and Navy have taken the oath before a multinational people and are ready to honor this oath. We call upon the parliaments, the leaders of the Commonwealth states, during the transitional period to retain the integrity of state borders, a unified security system, a single military-strategic space, a unified command system for the Armed Forces. We appeal to the bodies of power of the states within the CIS to immediately commence negotiations on the fate of the Armed Forces of the former USSR.

We propose that all unilateral actions capable of destabilizing the situation be avoided during these negotiations. We call for good sense to be displayed, in the name of the lives of our own peoples, in the name of the happiness of our children and grandchildren, so that progress and democracy may flourish. We await decisions that are civilized, comprehensively considered, and enshrined in legislation, which will absolutely exclude confrontation between the future republican armies.

The accords on military policy signed in Minsk must be scrupulously adhered to. Not infrequently have we paid with our blood, and to this day we continue to do so, for the inactivity of some and political ambitions of other statesmen. Therefore, we are entitled to demand that within the shortest possible time the following coordinated laws be enacted at the interstate level: on defense; on the procedure for military service and on the status of servicemen; on the citizenship of servicemen and members of their families; on the living and housing conditions and financial provision of servicemen, both serving and being discharged into the reserve, and also pensioners of the former USSR Defense Ministry, border, interior, and railway troops.

We appeal to you, friends and comrades in arms: It is our obligation not to allow any schism within the Army, to act as guarantor of the sovereignty of the states, to form a free society, to help the peoples to endure an historical turning point. We call for the laws of the independent states within the Commonwealth to be respected; for restraint, unity, and order to be displayed; for the interests of every serviceman to be upheld against humiliation and social injustice.

Do not yield to provocations. Remain loyal to your military oath until all matters are resolved by legitimate legislative methods. We do not wish to interfere in politics or to decide the issue of the state system or of authority in the independent states. That is a matter for the people. Our business is to defend their interests without sparing our blood or our very lives. The Army and Navy are still well organized, disciplined, and combat ready. The preservation of a single armed forces is the guarantee of the stability of the reforms being pursued in the CIS.

Shaposhnikov Speech After Walkout

LD1701234992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1735 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Speech by Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces, at the evening session of the Army Officers' Assembly at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow on 17 January—live]

[Text] [Video shows Shaposhnikov at microphone after reentering hall following his walkout after a call from an officer from Groznyy for his resignation] Esteemed comrades, officers. If there is anyone who thinks that I, Marshal Shaposhnikov, am hanging on to my position by my fingernails, he is mistaken and is trying to mislead somebody. I have just one concern now, which is to bring the Armed Forces out of the state of affairs which our country and our Armed Forces have gotten themselves into—with the least possible damage. [applause]

Comrades, I have no other aims, so to speak. Not only that, but I want to tell you frankly that in Minsk on the 30th, when I saw that we were headed for dissension, that a large discrepancy was emerging in opinions among the leaders of the countries, or states, of our Commonwealth, I wrote out a notice of resignation. That is not news to you, comrades. But I am now very doubtful—and here I am not trying to blow my own trumpet—that anyone new could come forward now who would be able to attempt in such a calm way to pull us out of what we have gotten ourselves into. I am not trying to say that there are no such people—there are. That is the second point.

Third, I want to tell you a bit, in relation to the August events, about what I intend to do with the Armed Forces overall. Because I have talked about this on several occasions, in reports to troop commanders, at meetings of the collegium, and so on and so forth. Well, let us look at how things have been, in the first place why I removed the party from the Armed Forces and depoliticized them. I want to tell all officers about this, and I want to know whether this is understood or not.

Why? Because, just take those events of 19 August. What happened was that Yeltsin, a non-party man, and Rutskoy, who had been excluded from the party, mounted the barricades; in other words it was they who called on the people to support democracy and so on. Meanwhile, the CPSU Central Committee was keeping silent, taking absolutely no stance, acting as though nothing was happening in the country. That is the first point.

Second, look at how our appointments system worked, comrades. I was commander in chief of the Air Force. Now let's suppose we needed a candidate for commander of an Air army. Down at the lower levels they would go through all the usual motions until it came up to my level. I would personally have a talk with him. Then it would go through the military council and after that it would go to the Main Directorate for State Security. After that it would go to the CPSU Central Committee, where the candidate would find himself talking to some person or other—a civilian who had just spent the day before being coached by a lieutenant-colonel or a major-general. And then it would turn out, he would say he was just a member of the CPSU Central Committee. He wouldn't even be talking to a secretary. Then he would call me and say: Yevgeniy Ivanovich, he doesn't suit us. And this would be a candidate who suited everyone except that man.

And that is why as far back as the 20th I told Comrade (Benov): However all this ends, the party structure has to be removed from the Armed Forces at once. That is the first thing I shall do in the Air Force.

Let us press on. With regard to our lack of rights and protection and so on, I have said a little about this in my speech, and I didn't want, comrades, to draw your attention to all this too strongly. But still I'll say what I have to say, but now more extensively, on this. So, our state has created the biggest and mightiest armed forces, and we were constantly told that we had been encircled by capitalism, that they wanted to strangle us all, that soon it would be easier for us to cope with them, and so and and so on. All along we didn't see it getting any easier at all.

When we clashed over our tasks, we were told: you are bad commanders, you're working badly, you've got to build the houses yourselves, you've got to look after the sows, and so on and so on, if you want a better life. We became not an Army, but God knows what. We say that our officers should be smartly turned out, so that they are good to look at. Our officer goes to work in the morning, where he does everything, from the boilers to the sows, the personnel, the foot bindings, and so on and so on. He comes back worn out, he comes home and his wife says, what sort of husband are you? The others all have proper husbands, but you are—there's not much money, we've got nowhere to live, and so on and so on.

This system has divided us. The officer sits and thinks, why haven't I got an apartment?—Well, evidently because I've got a bad commander. The regimental commander sits and thinks: Why have my fifteen officers got no apartments? It must be because the commander is no good. The commander assembles his thousand men without apartments and thinks of the commander of the troops of the okrug, who in turn thinks of the defense minister, and the rest keep silent. That's all.

Again they are confusing us, tearing us apart, and making us do things other than what we ought to be doing. My strategic line was this. The same thing: to relieve the Armed Forces of all tasks which, well, get us nowhere; to free the Armed Forces from functions which are alien to them, and then let them ask me, ask the minister and the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, how I taught the troops to fight. That will be our main task. That was the policy I set, comrades. It was my main policy.

Second, I don't know whether in the given circumstances we would have gathered here or not if there had been a different minister or commander in chief.

Third, I don't want to speak ill of anybody, comrades, let alone my predecessors, but why is it that we are like this? People daily give us lectures, insult us, humiliate us, and drag us through the mud, so to speak, and all we do is run to attention, clicking our heels? When you try to speak to them decently, it's not acceptable. I really don't know, comrades. I can resign. It would not be difficult for me at all. I wouldn't even regard myself as insulted or humiliated. Bear that in mind. You think that I desperately need this, do you? To take the job and sit there? I stress once again that I'm not clinging on at all. If you insist, if you vote for it, I shall go this very moment. So what do you want to do now? [shouting] I'm telling you it's up to you, comrades. It's up to you.

Further on Events Surrounding Conference

Delegates Cited

PM2001130592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 1

[Report by Colonel Viktor Baranets on talk with all-Army conference participants: "Word to Rally"]

[Text] Captain Vladimir Pasternak, air squadron navigator (Transbaykal Military District):

We are flying on scrap metal. The equipment is old. There are virtually no spare parts. Nor any conditions for repair. People in the squadron often say: "With us the kerosene and blood are mingled together." Imagine 40 degrees of frost. An open flight line. People work with bare hands. Their fingers split. So you have blood and kerosene...

About the daily living conditions. In the unit there are 119 men without apartments and 63 of them are flying personnel. It happens that a pilot returns home from a mission and his family is not there—they have been moved. Of course we are unhappy but we serve. Someone must defend the country!

Major Nikolay Kurak, commander of a missile unit shore battery (Black Sea Fleet):

You know what most worries my and my fellow servicemen and subordinates? The uncertainty. To whom should we swear an oath of loyalty, in which army should we serve? For a military man the situation could not be worse. All these divisions of the Army and Navy have hit the servicemen more painfully than anyone. And you know my soul is rent apart when I see and hear my comrades asking a question which would seem impermissible for the military: "Whom will we serve?" Yet after all when they swore their oath they did not think of that. Because everything was clear: They had to serve the people, the Fatherland.

Surely our politicians had the time to think out everything seriously and without haste?

Lieutenant Colonel Grigoriy Omelyanchuk, battalion commander (Air Defense Troops):

If I have the opportunity to speak at the conference I shall say first of all that the division of the Armed Forces which has now been initiated is madness. Just think: A shattered economy, a country that is half-starved and embittered by having to stand in lines, people worn out by the leaders' political fluctuations, interethnic conflicts, a tremendous housing crisis in the Army and Navy, and now this enormous recarving of the Army and Navy, which will cost billions.

I serve in the Air Defense Troops and I can see clearly what a pernicious effect our economic collapse is having on the quality of weapons and equipment. They rest on people's nerves, on human selflessness.

Colonel Viktor Malikov, chief of the military-political work department at the Armed Forces Humanities Academy (Moscow Military District):

I am coming to the meeting with tremendous concern for the quality of our servicemen's education. Commanders' assistants for work with the personnel are now engaged in this matter. They are all graduates of military-political schools that have been abolished or of our academy. But who will take over from them? We are told: "The psychologists and sociologists whom you train." But wait! They are narrow specialists. We also need professional educators with the art of military teaching who can control psychological and social processes and coordinate them. Where shall we find them? Our department, which has enormous scientific forces, is prepared to take on this task. But there have been rumors that it will be closed. And that will be an act of sabotage against the army and navy. I am struck by the fact that such a serious problem is being resolved by people with a blinkered, one-sided, dilettantish view of the educational process. And that is only accelerating the disintegration of the Armed Forces and swelling the ranks of "hazers."

Internal Troops Send Proposals

LD1601223892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1916 GMT 16 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—Profound concern for the future of internal troops was expressed by the participants in a Meeting of Representatives of Internal Troops Officers' Assemblies held here today. Lieutenant

General Vasiliy Savin, commander of the internal troops, noted that "the hasty division of the potential that the internal troops have has brought in its wake considerable tension in military collectives, and this increases with each day in connection with the absence of a legislative base and social protection for soldiers and their families, and with the extremely low pay for their work." Proposals developed at the Meeting of Representatives of Internal Troops Officers' Assemblies have been sent to the organizing committee of the all-Army meeting opening tomorrow in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses.

Demonstrators Agitate

PM2001163592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jan 92 p 2

[Report by Captain Third Rank A. Pelts: "Have Courage and Cool Politicians' Hotheadedness, Demonstrators Urged Participants in All-Army Officers' Assembly"]

[Text] It is 0800. The red banners and Russian flags have already been unfurled in the Kutafya Tower in the ancient Kremlin, and caustic slogans and banners have been raised. Representatives of various political parties and movements and the capital's labor collectives, war veterans, and ordinary inhabitants have gathered here. They are all waiting for the participants in the All-Army Officers' Assembly.

"We Believe in your Wisdom and Policy!"; "You Swore Allegiance to the People and Not to the Speculators!"; "Indestructible and Legendary, Stand Firm!"; "Army, Preserve the Fatherland!"—these are just a few of the appeals that the crowd made to the officers.

...There was plenty of emotion. The participants in the assembly had literally to fight their way through a live buzzing throng to the entrance to the grounds of the Kremlin. The arriving delegations were greeted with loud cries in honor of the Army and Navy and shouts of "Hurrah!"

"I am delighted that people are so interested in our assembly," Lieutenant Colonel Valeriy Nestavalskiy says. "I am serving in the Ukraine. You will be well aware that we have actually been put into a hopeless situation and robbed of any choice. I believe that the Army can be under joint command but remain unified."

"I can understand these people's pain and concern," Captain Anatoliy Batarin, a border guard, echoes him. "While their internal problems are being tackled, it seems that the external ones have been completely forgotten. My colleagues are defending the southern border of the former USSR. They understand that they are defending not just the republic but also distant Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other cities in our Commonwealth against the smuggling of arms and weapons. Even if the politicians do not understand this, we, the military, have never forgotten it. And I would also like to remind you that the first time blood was shed it was at the new frontiers which are now springing up all over the country. Officers in the unit collected money so I could come here and express our stance."

However, not everyone was unanimous in their opinion about the Army.

"I have come here because I am afraid of a military coup," Lyudmila Udalova, a "Democratic Russia" spokesperson said, not concealing her fear. "I am afraid of dictatorship by the generals, who are seemingly planning to stage another putsch before long."

[Pelts] Where do you get your information?

[Udalova] I cannot say exactly, but there was a meeting and they talked about it, and even named the date—20 January.

[Pelts] That means... in three days' time?!

[Udalova] Yes, it appears that it is on the point of happening...

Well, a great deal else was said today, both good things, and frankly untrue, farfetched, and wicked things against the sizeable officers' corps of our former unified and great country. But everything that was said only stresses the acute situation in which the Army and Navy have found themselves today. Unfortunately, the clash of opinions among the demonstrators seemingly inevitably led to mutual insults, and blows were even exchanged. But the militia arrived in time to set up a firm cordon between the two camps.

This unpleasant incident made you think what would happen if there were armed people on both sides of this fragile cordon? Are we going to let things go that far?

Meeting Characterized

OW1701190092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Yuriy Deryugin, a member of the Coordinating Council "Military for Democracy" stated in an interview with "IF" [INTERFAX] that the situation at the Army Officers' conference one hour into the meeting could be characterized by three factors:

—The alienation of military bosses from the needs of the average officers' corps;

— The officers' corps is experiencing extreme social tensions:

— Discussion of the problems at the conference shows that the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] does not have a military policy.

In Mr. Deryugin's opinion, Russia does not have a military policy either.

In answer to the question, could the situation at the officers' meeting get out of control, Yuri Deryugin answered that if the participants' demand on inviting the CIS presidents is not met, then the situation could really spin out of control.

Attendance Detailed

PM2001100592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 2

[Report by Nikolay Burbyga and Viktor Litovkin: "Problem of Army Is Problem of Peace on Earth. Have Officers Assembled in Kremlin for Conference, Assembly, Or Rally?"]

[Excerpts] The All-Army Conference of Representatives of Officers' Assemblies opened in Moscow's Kremlin Palace of Congresses 17 January. The Armed Forces High Command announced that 4,839 servicemen from the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces and internal and border troops have been sent as delegates to the all-Army conference. They include commanders of branches of the Armed Forces, categories of troops, and sectors, commanders of military districts, groups of forces, and fleets, commanders of armies, divisions, and regiments, and students and teachers from military academies and schools. [passage omitted]

The conference will be attended in total by: 520 generals and admirals, 3,599 senior officers, and 720 junior officers. We inquired how many of them are commanders, engineers, and former political personnel and were told: There is no information on this, delegates have not filled out questionnaires.

Representatives of 37 states and public organizations and movements, including veterans organizations, have also been invited to the conference. [passage omitted]

Major General of Aviation Nikolay Stolyarov, chairing the assembly, was forced to declare a half-hour recess for organizational decisions to be adopted. After the recess it was decided not to approve the agenda for the time being, but give Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, and Russian President Boris Yeltsin a chance to speak, allow the assembly's coordinating council to be elected, and only then continue work. The assembly sent an insistent invitation to the heads of state to come to the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

First Recess Interviews

PM2001144192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jan 92 p 1

[Interviews with participants in All-Army Officers' Assembly by Lieutenant Colonel O. Vladykin during the first recess: "'We Must Be Heard'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] During the first recess our correspondent spoke to some of the participants in the All-Army Officers' Assembly.

Major A. Taranenko, chairman of an Air Defense Aviation Regiment Officers' Assembly Council.

[Vladykin] What are your first impressions of the assembly?

[Taranenko] It seems to me that literally one minute into the assembly it was obvious that the force present here should impel the state leaders to listen to the officers and in some respects adjust the decisions they adopted earlier. Each and every one of us has brought with him mandates from hundreds or even thousands of people. We are expressing the opinion of the Armed Forces cadre corps, which must not be disregarded.

[Vladykin] But even the beginning of the assembly's work has shown that by no means everyone holds the same stance...

[Taranenko] At first all efforts were directed to simply making the hall see reason, as emotions were running high. However, this was understandable. The officers' concern about the present state of the army is such that their patience is being tested to the limit. We have come to the end of the road we have been proceeding along.

[Vladykin] In other words, you can see an alternative. What is it?

[Taranenko] There is one alternative. First and foremost to force the politicians to hear our voices. I certainly do not think that the leaders of the independent states do not know all the problems that have arisen in connection with the Armed Forces, but maybe they are not aware of the actual depth of the crisis in the defense sphere. Evidently their advisers and aides have so far not been able to make a sufficiently thorough analysis of this issue. They must be provided with the necessary information.

Major General Yu. Pakhomov, commander of a Carpathian Military District formation.

[Vladykin] Particularly acute disputes are going on about the position of the Armed Forces in Ukraine. What can you say about this situation, starting off with your own experience?

[Pakhomov] I don't think that I am just going to express my own opinion; it is also that of my delegation. The Army has already been split up thanks to the actions of the Ukrainian president. Today two military districts—Kiev and Odessa—have taken the Ukrainian oath of allegiance. The day after tomorrow our district is to swear the oath.

Personally I do not intend to do so. I have taken the oath once and I am not going to take it again. Many officers are taking this stance. However, half of them, or maybe more, are set to swear the oath of allegiance to Ukraine.

The situation is very serious. Even today there is a noticeable split in our ranks, never mind among drafted servicemen. So today's forum must draw the necessary conclusions in order to come to decisions that reflect the real situation in the Armed Forces.

[Vladykin] Do you think that the present All-Army Officers' Assembly can somehow influence the situation as regards the Armed Forces?

[Pakhomov] I do not think that it will be able to. In Ukraine everything has already been decided and it is irreversible. The only thing that can be done is to draw up a package of measures to ease the lives of officers who do not want to swear the oath of allegiance to a particular sovereign state. The independence of the member states of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] must be seen as a fait accompli and we must proceed on this basis alone in our actions and our decisions.

Anxiety 'Not Unfounded'

PM2101104592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jan 92 p 1

[Report by correspondent Colonel G. Miranovich: "All-Army Officers' Assembly: The Army Must Be United"]

[Excerpts] To be honest, I set off for the Kremlin, where the All-Army Conference of Representatives of Officers' Assemblies was due to start at 1000 hours on 17 January, not in the best frame of mind. On the eve of the conference, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA resembled a military headquarters, with a constant stream of incoming mail, telegrams, and appeals from all over the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. It was a constant stream of anguish for the Army and for the Fatherland.

I too was tormented by the question: Do my officer comrades have sufficient composure to be able to hold their forum and use their collective intelligence to elaborate constructive proposals for the maximum benefit of the cause?

As it turned out, my anxiety was not unfounded. Scarcely had Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Armed Forces, declared the conference open, when a chorus of discontent rang out in the hall of sessions where the 5,000 representatives of Officers' Assemblies were meeting. Several officers went to the microphone and proposed that the conference be constituted as an Officers' Assembly, with the relevant leading bodies being elected. The proposal was immediately accepted.

But the "passions" did not abate thereafter. The debate on the agenda for what was now the All-Army Officers' Assembly lasted for more than an hour. Even then they did not succeed in formulating it. I would not want, in this connection, to accuse any of the speakers of being too impulsive and therefore not contributing at all to the constructive work. You can understand people who have been pawns in the hands of certain politicians, as it was rightly pointed out in the speeches. Their patience is not infinite. But I confess I was somewhat uncomfortable when some of my officer comrades who spoke very much resembled the brash speakers at the first congresses of USSR and RSFSR people's deputies.

It was not until after the half-hour break, when assembly chairman Major General of Aviation N. Stolyarov, chairman of the Committee for Personnel Work, announced that the heads of state of the CIS members (only the Russian and Kazakhstan presidents were in the presidium) had been sent invitations, which many speakers had insisted on, did the hall appear to settle down. [passage omitted]

Kazakhstan President Nurusultan Nazarbayev took the floor. Nursultan Nazarbayev compared activities to assemble [as published] the old structures of the former Union to a mine-clearing operation.

Well, a very apt comparison. Whether we have managed to pass through this "minefield" without damage will be known on 14 February, when the Commonwealth heads of state meet again in Minsk, this time to discuss purely military matters, including draft laws on defense questions elaborated by the Armed Forces Main Commissariat. Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov reported to the assembly on this. [passage ommitted]

So the assembly established a kind of working rhythm, if you discount the slight hitch due to the attempt to expel V. Urazhtsev, Russian people's deputy and one of the leaders of the well known "Shchit" organization, from the hall. According to many speakers, his activities are geared to the disintegration of the Armed Forces. The assembly told Urazhtsev to leave the hall.

The subsequent leitmotiv of the officers' forum was the idea of maintaining unified Commonwealth Armed Forces. This was talked about by Senior Lieutenant A. Podzorov, representative of the Strategic Missile Forces; Admiral I. Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet; Colonel General V. Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District; Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad; and others.

Russian President B. Yeltsin talked about the bad state of society and the Army. [passage omitted]

When this edition went to press (1745 hours) the assembly debate was still in progress. Our account will continue in the next issue.

Poll on Creation of CIS

OW1701190392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to information collected by a sociological investigation among the participants of the All Army Officers' Assembly, 52% support the creation of the CIS

[Commonwealth of Independent States], 35% do not. 2% are indifferent and 14% could not decide.

The Armed Forces should be united, 67% of the participants of the poll felt. 25% of participants felt that the Armed Forces should be the united forces of countries in the Commonwealth of Independent States, similar to the Warsaw Pact. 3% of participants were in favor of independent armed forces. 77% feel that there should be one military oath for the Armed Forces of the CIS.

If the Armed Forces are to be divided, then 95% of those polled fell that there must be a transitional period.

The possible division of the Armed Forces, 80% think, would lead to a worse socio-legal situation for soldiers. 7% feel that everything will remain as before and 8% are hoping for better.

Communists Appeal to Officers

LD1701220992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1734 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] At the Army Conference of Representatives of Officers' Meetings, held in Moscow on January 17, the All-Union [as received] Committee for the Unity of Communists called on the servicemen to say a resolute no to the creation of national armies, to attempts to pull apart the strategic forces.

The committee's appeal, distributed at the conference, says in part: As a result of irresponsible measures taken by the former leaders of the Union with Mikhail Gorbachev at the head and the present leaders of the republic, the Armed Forces have found themselves in a difficult situation. This, however, seems insignificant in the light of attempts to divide the Army among the republics, which carries a threat of military-strategic instability and a nuclear catastrophe, a threat of turning the entire country into one great Karabakh. We should put an end to this. The position of servicemen of all ranks can play a decisive role here, since most of them, as we know, come out against the destruction of the army. The view of the Soviet officers, expressed openly and clearly, can sober up some politicians who have become so blind they don't see the danger they're bringing upon their own people and on themselves. The strategic forces, including the Black Sea Fleet, have been created through the effort of the entire nation and cannot belong to the Ukraine, to Russia, or to any other republic. These forces are indivisible. We are sure that Soviet servicemen will remain loyal to their oath.

Circumstances of Black Sea Fleet Outlined

Fuel Reserves Low

LD1701200592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2212 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] According to Rear Admiral A. Manchenko, first deputy of chief of staffs of Black Sea Navy, the Fleet has been left with a few-day fuel supply.

According to Colonel Borisov, head of the Navy's fuel procurement service, the Black Sea Fleet did not receive any tanks with fuel in November-December of 1991.

Rally Supports Unified Fleet

OW1901181592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A mass rally in support of the Black Sea Fleet was held in Sevastopol (Crimea, Ukraine) January 19.

Addressing the rally, leader of the "Russia" faction of the Russian parliament Sergey Baburin condemned the collapse of the state and stated that the Fleet belongs to all the people. He also noted that the Russian people would not leave to the mercy of fate its compatriots

The rally adopted a resolution demanding that the single Black Sea Fleet be kept under the control of the Commonwealth of Independent States and urging to resolutely oppose the Ukrainian national guard's deployment in Crimea and Sevastopol.

Oaths to Ukraine Denied

LD2101124192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] The press service of the Black Sea Fleet has denied rumors that naval seamen have begun swearing allegiance to Ukraine. To date, the personnel of the Fleet has not take such an oath. The only unit that has taken the Ukrainian oath is the border formation of Commander (Alferov), which does not form part of the Fleet.

Troops Situation in Ukraine, Moldova Viewed

PM2001152892 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 3

[Report by A. Milkus under the general heading "Even an Unloaded Gun Goes Off Once. What About a Loaded One? The All-Army Officers' Assembly Opened in Moscow Today": "Four Oaths. Rather a Lot"]

[Text] Odessa—It is clear that the swearing of the military oath in Ukraine will by no means go as smoothly as Leonid Kravchuk's team, which is hurriedly forming its own army, imagined. According to the information officer of the Odessa Military District's headquarters, as of today the Bolgradskaya Airborne Troops Division and three brigades stationed in Crimea and near Raukhovka have refused to swear allegiance to Ukraine.

A second appeal by the "Officers' Initiative Group" is now being distributed around the offices of district headquarters.

The officers think that those who refuse to take the oath will be thrown out on the street without any social safeguards. Many of them have no housing and there will doubtless be problems with finding employment. In essence it is blackmail, pure and simple.

The situation is even more paradoxical with the troops stationed on Moldovan territory, but which continue to be subordinate to the Odessa Military District headquarters, that is to Ukraine. As Major General N. Goridov, deputy commander of the 14th Army, said, the situation could not be more stupid. Now the units, of which the majority are stationed on the territory of the Dnestr region, will have to choose between four oaths—of loyalty to the Ukraine, Moldova, the Dnestr region, or the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States].

The opinion of the majority of officers of the former Soviet troops in Moldova is unequivocal: They do not intend to quit the republic. They simply have nowhere to go. And so in the end a simple argument may win through in the debate about oaths—whichever politician gives more guarantees for servicemen, whoever promises to feed the Army, will have his own armed forces. Centralized food deliveries to the Army stopped six weeks ago...

Union of Servicemen Holds Founding Congress

Short-Term Goals Defined

OW1701234592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] 60 spokesmen for military units belonging to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces gathered in Moscow for the founding congress of an independent union of servicemen. The gathering is to adopt union's rules, a declaration of servicemen's rights and a program of action.

Co-chairman of the organizing committee Captain A. Goptar said that the short-term goal of the independent union of servicemen would be to protect the life and health of all categories of servicemen. Judging by statistics, thousands of men die or get crippled in the Armed Forces annually.

"We do not presume that our trade union is something exclusive, but the Commonwealth's defense capability will depend on the socio-economic and political security of servicemen," Andrey Goptar stressed. So far the disintegration of the USSR and the forming of the Commonwealth of Independent States have not made the life of servicemen easier, he said. Furthermore, the attempts to break up the army and tear it apart are reminiscent of the old times, when there were attempts to turn the Army into a silent tool for carrying out somebody else's will.

Decision Upheld

OW1701235092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2141 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A constituent assembly in Moscow has set up an independent trade union. This decision was upheld by a number of fleets, troops and units in Ukraine, Belarus and Uzbekistan. The sitting enacted a charter, action program and declaration of servicemen's rights.

The delegates did not pass a call to the Officer Conference underway in Moscow. The trade union is ready for cooperation with any army agencies, including the Shield.

The trade union will seek a meeting in the next several days with CIS Commander-in-Chief Shaposhnikov to agree on partnership.

General Warns of 'Rash Privatization' of Army

LD2001213492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] General Manilov, head of the information department of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces Command, spoke to journalists today. He was asked: Can the coordination council be seen as something of a sword dangling over the political institutions of the Commonwealth? How will the Command act in a situation, for example, where a decision about the single Armed Forces is not shared by the Ukraine?

[Correspondent Suntsov] General Manilov skillfully dodged the sharp corners. He did not exclude the possibility of part of the Armed Forces being passed over to the sovereign states. However, there is a strong opinion among the Armed Forces that rash privatization of the Army will threaten the stability of society and threaten the reforms. There is a great danger, noted the general, that the Army, if divided up along national lines, might be used for political aims, and this is unacceptable if we want to preserve a single defense area.

Commenting at the journalists' request on the statement by the Ukraine president, General Manilov stressed that every serious politician should reckon with a force such as the Army. The Army will not allow an unauthorized seizure of weapons, the general stressed, and withdrawal of the units from the territories of the independent states will only be possible after negotiations and mutual agreements which will take into consideration the servicemen's vital interests.

Navy Threatened With Fate Similar to Union

PM2001150792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 2

[Article by Captain First Rank A. Shevchenko "Viewpoint": "Let Us Not Forget Peter's Behest"]

[Text] During its almost 300-year long history, our regular Navy sustained losses bringing it to the brink of annihilation more than once. But every time it was reborn mightier and more modern still. This was the case when the country's naval might not only served as an important deterrent factor but was also used in wars and armed conflicts as a means of upholding state interests. Now, during a time which is relatively favorable as regards international relations, the Navy is threatened with a fate similar to that which befell the Union which has ceased to exist, and this without any intervention by a potential enemy.

Of late the man in the street, comparing his income and the defense expenditure, which has become public knowledge, is probably asking himself more and more often: Do we really need an ocean-going navy equipped with nuclear missiles? It costs a lot of money and there appears to be no threat from the sea. It might not be a bad idea to take all that money away from the sailors and distribute it...

It is true that the military-political situation in the world is changing toward lesser tension. Direct military confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, between the United States and the former USSR, is a matter of the past. The intensity of naval activity in the world ocean is also subsiding.

Yet, alongside these favorable trends, we also witnessed in 1991 the biggest military conflict of the entire postwar era (since 1945) in the Persian Gulf. Practically all the developed countries of the West were directly involved in this conflict. It was impossible to predict or foresee the pace of being drawn into the orbit of military operations, or the scale and duration of the conflict, and, most importantly, to avert its consequences. In this way the whole world was taught an object lesson which showed first, that it is possible for military conflicts of any size to arise quickly and unexpectedly, and that there are no effective ways and means of averting them at the current stage, and second, that it is essential for any state to have armed forces which, though numerically small, are powerful as regards means of destruction and technical equipment, and are mobile and professionally trained, to serve as a guarantor of its external security.

So what bearing does this have on our Fatherland? Without proper protection of its territorial waters and our economic zones in the open sea, the country cannot counter the brazen plunder of our marine wealth, in the Far East for example. If a further weakening of the Fleet occurs, the "Russian question" may be posed in such a way that the only solution will be the Panama, or Grenada, or Falklands option. Given the existing internal strife in what used to be a single economic area at one time, the weakening of military might, and the selling out of all existing military and state secrets—which is what we are all witnessing—a strong-arm solution can not only not be ruled out, but is, on the contrary, becoming one of the most probable solutions.

It would be very easy to destroy the Army and the Fleet, to dismantle and sell off ships, disperse professional cadres, and destroy the entire system for training these cadres, and it could be done very quickly. All that would be needed would be to adopt a number of short-sighted and unintelligent decisions. But to rebuild a navy would take decades, as our experience of the postwar decades has shown.

Many people, including some naval officers, erroneously believe that if appropriations for building warships were drastically cut or discontinued altogether, this would make funds available for tackling social questions. This is by no means so. If contracts with shipbuilders were disrupted, the military department would have to pay shipyards vast sums of money for work that was planned but not carried out, and also for salvaging half-built ships. It could happen that these payments exceed the expenditure which would be incurred if the construction of the ships were continued!

Over the past two years alone, more than 260 obsolete ships have been deleted from the Fleet's lists. The "service life" of several more dozen cruisers, escort ships, and submarines is coming to an end. What will take their place? Incidentally, the Navy could also lose its combat readiness even earlier—through personnel losing their professional skills. According to Navy Main Staff Combat Training specialists, the reduction of the sailors' term of service to 18 months will, figuratively speaking, turn warships into empty cans.

During its entire history our Fleet has probably never been in a more precarious and unpredictable situation than today. The 300-year old decree of the Boyar Council "Let there be ocean-going ships" has been strictly implemented until now—a great power is unimaginable without a great fleet. Now, out of the ruins of the Union, we again see a Russia being reborn, just like 300 years ago. However, its future greatness is inseparable from the preservation and rebirth of its fleet, strong through the standard of its technical equipment and high professionalism rather than its numerical strength. The present Russian leadership will not forget Peter's behest concerning the Navy—Russia is fated to be great.

Kasatanov Portrayed as Seaman With Machine Gun

PM2101100392 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 3

[Article by Yu. Sorokin: "Sevastopol Echo of 'Matrosskaya Tishina'"]

[Text] A new star has appeared on our political horizon—an admiral's star. Few people were hitherto familiar with Admiral Igor Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, whose name has been on everyone's lips for more than two weeks now. If we calculate his current popularity rating in Russia, the admiral probably comes in the top 10.

Admittedly, I am slightly alarmed by popularity based not only on the affections of the population, but also on the barrels of a good thousand guns. When the news coming every day from seemingly besieged Sevastopol tells us that the Fleet has not yet surrendered, I might even be glad to feel excited, but I don't. It is not the Varyag [Russian cruiser that won renown during 1904-1905 Russian-Japanese war] that comes to mind, but Gogol and his Ivan Ivanovich and Ivan Nikiforovich.

People are calling it a crime that Russians or, say, Uzbeks, are being forcibly made to swear an oath of loyalty to Ukraine. However, there have been no instances of force being used. Common sense certainly suggests that it is hardly possible to forcibly bring a vast armed army to its knees—an army with 75,000 Russian officers and more than half its enlisted men being non-Ukrainian. Most Russian officers would most likely voluntarily take the oath since their homes and families are here and the Ukrainian Government has adopted more laws on social security for servicemen and promised to improve their daily lives. It is still not known how the Black Sea Fleet would react if it was led by a more obliging admiral; a few months back, as you know, Sevastopol voted in favor of Ukrainian independence.

Our military command has always attached exaggerated importance to questions of birth. In 1941 hundreds of thousands of Volga Germans were banned from serving in the army and were sent to special settlements and camps. Today Russian officers are not threatened with camps in Ukraine or with being banned from their profession, they are required to swear an oath of loyalty to the republic's laws and constitution. No self-respecting lawyer would subscribe to Admiral Kasatonov's claim that this represents a breach of human rights. The state is entitled to demand loyalty of its own armed citizens regardless of their genealogy. Provided, of course, that the citizens are that. Ukraine's leaders are charged with violating the Alma-Ata and Minsk agreements. But the further things go, the clearer it becomes that there are no specific agreements in the strict sense of the word and the agreements that there are do not remove any discord. The presidents have lost their feeling of fellowship, along with their sense of opposing Gorbachev. They now need to elbow their way to survive in a free-for-all. Ukraine wants its own army since it is expecting to feed it, yet some republics are pressing for common armed forces since they have no intention of feeding anyone, while Minister Shaposhnikov in a fit of temper, seeing this commotion, has sent military districts a cipher with the text of a Russian oath... To all intents and purposes the treaty on unified command of the strategic forces should not be considered valid either since Russia has presented one list of these weapons and Ukraine has submitted a list that is one-third the size.

People are saying that historically the Fleet should by rights go to Russia. Historically because history, rather than current political statements, is the arbiter here. What is more, it was not only the Russians that shed their blood in Sevastopol and it was not only pleasure boats that were built on Ukraine's building slips. The main point is that Russia has another duty to history: To survive at least. The gigantic Army and four fleets that Russia inherited from the former USSR represent extremely dubious military might and quite obvious economic weakness. Soviet nuclear submarines sink five times more frequently than U.S. submarines. The Black Sea is closed by straits belonging to another country and the only aircraft carrier [avianosets] to have been taken away from Ukraine, the Kuznetsov, is standing off Russia's northern shores like a lost soul—there are no moorings and there is nowhere for the thousands of crew to live. There is nowhere for millions of servicemen or their wives and children to live; thousands and tens of thousands are living as occupiers on other people's territory, waiting to return home where there is no housing and no work or means of supporting them. The Defense Ministry seems most concerned to preserve its own vast department (a new political directorate with 37 generals' posts has been set up to replace the one that was abolished!), and Army reform and cuts in military spending are being postponed indefinitely.

Russia has to decide what it values more: Its status as a great naval power or a normal and, at least, contented life for its citizens. This is why I think that all the hullabaloo over the Fleet is fantastic and even irrational. Or is a time of plague really the best for feasting? I am most surprised by the persistence of Ukrainian politicians who have plenty of other fish to fry besides this Fleet. Ultimately, the problem is their personal political appetite, which incidentally is hardly the same as the severe hunger experienced by most of the Ukraine's population. So, are we bored without a fight?

Two aspects give this farce an air of tragedy. Atop the wave of wounded national pride there has been a drastic increase in the chances of hard-line politicians ready to bring down the incumbent Russian Government along with economic reform. The Army has taken to the political stage as an autonomous force—not on orders from Yazov and Kryuchkov, but solely due to the politicians who sent those two to Matrosskaya Tishina. The All-Army Officers' Assembly opens today, and yesterday television reported that delegates are divided into political factions. Admiral Kasatonov is not, of course, Seaman Zheleznyak. But why persistently invite a hungry seaman with a machine gun to parliament?

Media

TASS Carries Press Review for 18 Jan

LD1801085892 Moscow TASS in English 0725 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—The press gives broad coverage to the meeting of the heads of the Commonwealth member-states. Summing up the results of the Moscow meeting, Russian President Boris Yeltsin told journalists: "We have agreed today in a calm atmosphere of mutual understanding on all issues which we planned to solve. As for military matters, since the heads of state did not have time to acquaint themselves in advance with the documents prepared on them, it was decided to postpone decision-making on them to the beginning of February."

Commenting on the officers' congress, the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA highlights the pain and concern over the future of the integral and once mighty state and its Armed Forces, which were voiced by participants in the congress.

"Officers Stand for Unity" the newspaper TRUD writes today, thinking that all the rest aspects of political life in the republics of the former Soviet Union fade into the background as compared to the military theme.

Russian People's Deputy Mikhail Chelnokov polemizes [as received] about "radical democrats" in PRAVDA. In his view, what is happening in the country is "revolutionary self-creativity". Chelnokov emphasises his commitment to Yeltsin's policy, stating in passing that Mikhail Gorbachev "lagged behind the developments, which is disastrous for the politician." At the same time, Chelnokov fires barbs also on the Russian president: "Yeltsin alienated himself from deputies. We do not have a chance to tell him personally everything what I am now speaking about."

"Yegor Gaydar Does Not Fear To Resign But Also He Does Not Seek To Step Down". Under this headline the newspaper RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA publishes an interview with the Russian deputy prime minister. "We do not panic because the government thinks nothing unexpected has occurred," Gaydar said in the interview.

"What Is In the Store For Us?" under this headline SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA prints an interview with Aleksandr Nevzorov, the popular anchorman of St. Petersburg's television programmes, devoted to intellectuals' role in the retrospective of events in our country and also to the future of the Russian culture. "Russia cannot die as a whole," Nevzorov believes.

The newspaper TRUD features an article devoted to the problem of rising prices on food products and prime necessaries. It is pointed out in the article that prices for such type of output as colour television sets rose 14 times from 1991 to 1992.

The Army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA believes that "the Army should be integral". It writes that the participants in the officers' congress held on Friday declared for unified armed forces. At the congress officers, who represented military units across the former Soviet Union, expressed their views as regards the role of the Armed Forces in the present Commonwealth of Independent States and raised problems which are a matter of concern for the military.

Under the headline "The Presidents' Moscow Manoeuvres" the independent NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA paper writes that following Friday's meeting, the heads of the Commonwealth member-states postponed military matters to the future.

The same newspaper raises the issue of whom the Crimea belongs to, thinking that this issue continues to be under question.

"Nazarbayev invited Western businessmen to be governors," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes, commenting on the Kazakh president's meeting with representatives of foreign firms in Alma-Ata.

"It is naive to explain Gamsakhurdia's success only by the power pressure on opponents. He had another super weapon—harsh nationalism," KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes commenting on recent developments in Georgia.

Foreign news continue to be focused on developments in Yugoslavia, peace efforts in the Middle East, the reconciliation policy in South America and other flashpoints in the world.

TASS Carries 20 Jan PRAVDA Review

LD2001065592 Moscow TASS in English 0614 GMT 20 Jan 92

["PRAVDA Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—PRAVDA leads today with the statement adopted by the All-Army Officers' Assembly a few days ago in Moscow. The statement expresses "the pain, alarm and concern felt by the officer corps over the disintegration of the country's Armed Forces".

"We do not want political ambitions and interests of some short- sighted leaders to disunite us and place us on different sides of the barricades. We are united by our common past, the difficult present and concern for the future of our motherland", the statement says.

PRAVDA singles out the part of the statement in which servicemen stress the desire to see the Armed Forces united. "We are calling on the parliaments and the leaders of the Commonwealth member-states to do all they can to preserve the integrity of the state border, a single security system, a single military-strategic space and a single system of control over the Armed Forces".

Worker Anatoliy Lyashenko sets out his viewpoint on the role and place of the working class in the renovated Russia and its representation in the bodies of state authority. He says the working class and peasants have been relegated to the background in Russia's socio-political life.

"The fickle political fashion has channelled fierce prejudices of nearly all intellectuals against the working class. In this political games workers have found themselves pronounced guilty without guilt, betrayed and slandered by those who used to swear their allegiance to working people all their lives," Lyashenko says.

"Keep moving but do not make haste," economist Vladimir Medvedev advises the Russian political leaders, who are seeking to steer the Russian economy locomotive towards a market economy, in an article in today's issue of PRAVDA.

Medvedev says the economy is not a testing ground for hastily devised experiments. It needs a well-thought out and consistent approach. A market we all need should be based on mutual economic interests, not on the world view held by a petty shop-keeper whose main concern is how to cheat a customer, Medvedev says.

He says a set of steps should be taken in the legislative, administrative and taxation field to bolster up the economy and set it on the right course.

Parliament member Yuriy Stepanov discusses the future of nuclear power engineering in this country. He says in an article entitled "We Are Out To Split Everything—Even the Atom?" that in the wake of the break-up of the Soviet Union, a real threat is looming that one of the most advanced of the former Soviet industries, the nuclear power industry, may follow suit and lose its great scientific and personnel potential.

Stepanov calls for preserving the unity of Russia's nuclear complex by seeking integration with other Commonwealth member-states within the framework of inter-state relations.

The foreign news section carries reports from all over the world. PRAVDA's correspondent Yevgeniy Fadeyeyv discusses the situation in Yugoslavia after European Community member countries recognised Croatia and Slovenia as independent states.

The world community's reaction to the All-Army Officers' Assembly in Moscow is in the focus as well. Foreign news media stress that the Army has turned into a major political force not to be overlooked in the drive for political and social reforms. These reforms will be impossible if the Armed Forces are ignored, PRAVDA reports.

The newspaper covers jubilations in El Salvador, where the signing of a peace accord put an end to a 12-year civil war, and international events across the world.

TASS Carries Press Review for 21 Jan

LD2101091192 Moscow TASS in English
0841 GMT 21 Jan 92

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 21 (TASS)—Today's newspapers carry articles devoted to the 68th anniversary of Vladimir Lenin's death. The newspaper PRAVDA publishes quotes about Lenin by prominent scientists, writers and public figures, which praise Lenin as a philosopher and state leader.

The newspaper denounces "capitulation and defeatism," as well as "immoral ruination of people's patriotism and love for their motherland" by forces trying to defame Lenin.

The newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes the article "Powerlessness of Slander" criticising attempts to falsify history and Lenin's role in the country's development at the turn of the century.

PRAVDA offers an article about former KGB chief Vadim Bakatin. The newspaper describes his activity as "unsatisfactory" and even "detrimental to the country's interests".

In the article "We Have No Time To Hope for a Miracle" published by the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, Russian state secretary Gennadiy Burbulis discusses the future of the Commonwealth of Independent States and Russia. He welcomes "Russia's revival with all fascination of our unrepeatable history, with all spiritual and cultural values but with a categoric prohibition of national bolshevism".

PRAVDA carries an article by Viktor Aksyuchits, leader of the political council of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, in which he denounces the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States as "a deception of people".

The newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publishes a verbatim report of the All-Army Officers' Assembly that ended in Moscow.

The newspaper NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT GAZETTE) carries reports about the situation in Georgia and South Ossetia. In the recent referendum in South Ossetia the majority of its residents voted for the republic's integration with the Russian Federation. However, Georgian leaders said they will stand for Georgia's integrity [as published]. The newspaper warns Russia against interference in the "Caucasian conflict".

PRAVDA observer Anatoliy Karpov touches upon the problem of brain drain in the country as Western states are trying to entice Russian physicists into the West.

International Affairs

IAEA Message 'Confirms Russia's Succession'

LD1701221592 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozlov]

[Text] Vienna January 17 TASS—Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Hans Blix has sent an official message to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, a news conference was told here today.

The message confirms Russia's succession of membership, observation of rights and fulfilment of obligations of the former Soviet Union as regards the activities of the agency and participation in conventions, treaties, and other international legal acts concluded within the framework or under the aegis of the IAEA.

Results of Yeltsin-Landsbergis Meeting Cited

OW1901190092 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1345 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO at 1112 GMT on 19 January]

[Text] The talks with Vytautas Landsbergis were held in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding, Boris Yeltsin said on Friday [17 January] after talks with the chairman of the Lithuanian parliament at the Lithuanian embassy in Moscow.

Asked about the future of the former Union's Armed Forces in Lithuania, he noted that the two sides had agreed on setting up a joint commission which will concentrate on the issue. He also said that such a commission had already been set up in Russia to replace the Union delegation appointed by Mikhail Gorbachev. The new commission is led by Russian premier Sergey Shakhray and will start working next week. Mr. Yeltsin said that within a month both sides may come to terms on military issues.

The joint communique says that the former Union's Armed Forces located in Lithuania shall be defined as "the troops under Russia's jurisdiction which are to be withdrawn from Lithuania and which should not act in violation of the Lithuanian state sovereignty and laws". The two sides have committed themselves to ensure organized withdrawal of the troops from Lithuania, first of all from the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius, and solve the most acute problems pertaining to the troops' supplies.

Commenting on Lithuania's demand that the individuals involved in the tragic events in Vilnius last January be given up, Boris Yeltsin said that the two sides had not yet reached agreement on the legal aspects of the problem, but added that such an agreement would be signed soon. He also said that the Russian side may start giving out those involved in that tragedy. The Russian Procurator's Office, he said, is ready to assist the Lithuanian side in meeting with and questioning the individuals guilty of the Lithuanian tragedy, including the members of the Emergency Committee.

Boris Yeltsin and Vytautas Landsbergis said they were planning to start comprehensive talks that would result in Russian-Lithuanian agreements.

The joint communique also says that shortly, the two sides will exchange the ratification instruments of the Russian-Lithuanian treaty and draft a migration agreement.

Asked by BF [BALTFAX] whether an economic crisis could affect Lithuania, Mr. Landsbergis said that the policy of the Lithuanian government "was well-calculated and economically substantiated". He said that relations with the former Union republics were "rational and constructive" and expressed hope that Lithuania would do without tough economic measures similar to those currently taken in Estonia. He did not rule out, however, that the Lithuanian and Estonian governments might ask for additional economic powers.

The Lithuanian leader told journalists that he had invited Boris Yeltsin to visit Lithuania and that the invitation was accepted with gratitude. The date of the visit has not been fixed yet.

Talks Result in Two Communiques

OW1701233792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2141 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Two-hour talks between President Yeltsin of Russia and the Lithuanian leader Vytautas Landsbergis ended with the signing of two communiques: one on the results of the discussion and the other on trade and economic cooperation.

The second document envisages to retain volumes of mutual supplies of goods and services in the first quarter of 1992 at the level of at least 70% against the same period last year. The leaders reached an agreement to solve, during the first quarter of 1992, financial, monetary, banking, customs, payments, legal and other aspects of the countries' economic relations.

Lithuanian Economics Minister Albertas Simenas said in an exclusive interview with BF [BALTFAX] that agreement and mutual understanding were reached on all four major sets of problems, including economy, an inter-state treaty, a pullout of Soviet troops from Lithuania and an extradition of those responsible for the events which occurred in Vilnius last January. He said also that the sides reached an agreement about the possibility of the Lithuanian Procurator's Office and the investigating bodies interrogating these persons along with those responsible for the tragedy at a customs-house in Medininkai.

In the interview which he granted an hour before the Kremlin talks began, Mr. Simenas pointed out that an economic agreement signed by Lithuania and Russia last year was virtually non-enforceable and for solving the accumulated economic problems "a high-level impetus is required." Among the problems he cited there were the absence of bilateral agreements between Lithuanian and Russian enterprises and the minimizing, and in some instances ceasing, of planned supplies. Thus, the Russian Federation did not set quotas to supply rolled steel, steel tubes, polyethylene and a number of other products. "It is both sides that will be damaged," Mr. Simenas said. (Russia accounts for 50-60% of Lithuanian exports)

As for the Soviet troop withdrawal from the republic, the Lithuanian leaders demand the pullout, first of all, of the troops that are "politically dangerous," including air assault units and the Vilnius military garrison. He added that the republican authorities would give financial aid to the families of the officers moving to Russia. According to Simenas, Lithuania wants part of the Soviet troops's armaments to remain in the republic, for example for the defense of the nuclear power plant.

Landsbergis presented Yeltsin with a "In Memory of January 13" medal for "solidarity, courage and selflessness in defense of the Lithuanian parliament."

Accepting the award, Yeltsin said that but for the Vilnius events of January 13, Russia would have found it more difficult to win on August 19, 1991. He also said that not only events but also participants were the same. Some of the them are in detention, said the Russian president.

Kozyrev, Hurd Discuss Upcoming Summit, Mideast

LD2101041492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0258 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jan (TASS)—The Information Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia has circulated official reports on the meetings of the minister of foreign affairs of Russia.

On 20 January, one of them says, Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, held talks with Douglas Hurd, minister for foreign and commonwealth affairs of Great Britian.

They were devoted mainly to major international events happening shortly. The main attention was dedicated to questions of preparations for the UN Security Council summit, which is planned for 31 January and is being convened at the initiative of Great Britain, and also the meeting between President B. Yeltsin and Prime Minister John Major, set for 30 January. Confidence was expressed that the UN Security Council summit will further the realization of the growing expectations in the sphere of guaranteeing peace and security which the majority of members of the international community link with this organization now. As far as the forthcoming Russo-British summit is concerned, the sides are convinced that it will give the necessary boost to the forward development of relations between the two countries, despite the shortness of the meeting.

The ministers exchanged opinions on a broad range of topical internatonal problems. A. Kozyrev spoke of the preparations being carried out in Moscow for the multilateral meeting on the Middle East. The Russian minister stressed that with all the difficulties in the talks' process, it is necessary to head consistently toward a just peaceful settlement in the Middle East region.

The ministers also examined practical questions of aid for Russia during the period in which it it is carrying out economic reforms. In particular, there was talk of ensuring the effectiveness of economic cooperation and of the humanitarian aid granted to Russia by Great Britain and a whole number of other countries, too.

The same day, the Information Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia reports, A. Kozyrev received a Palestinian delegation headed by M. Abbas, member of the PLO Executive Committee.

The situation in the Middle East in the light of the international efforts to achieve a universal settlement in this region was discussed during the conversation. The Palestinian spokesman came out in favor of the effective continuation of the peace progress begun by the Madrid peace conference and in this connection, he assessed the forthcoming organizational meeting to prepare the multilateral talks on the Middle East as an important contribution to bringing a Middle East settlement closer.

A. Kozyrev affirmed the Russian Federation's firm desire to play an active role, in the capacity of cochairman of the peace conference, in the efforts aimed at resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict and at establishing peace in the Middle East. The thought on the importance of all sides in the region displaying maximum restraint, flexibility, and reliance on exclusively peaceful political means was expressed.

Hurd Comments on Visit

LD2001184292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1752 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Report by TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan (TASS)—Douglas Hurd described his meeting today with Boris Yeltsin as "splendid" in terms of openness. Speaking at a news conference here on the conclusion of his working visit to the Russian Federation, the British minister announced that he had discussed "all issues, concerning economic policy, and also the sphere of security." The minister indicated that the British Government will be pleased to welcome the president of Russia in London next week, where he will stay en route to a meeting of the UN Security Council.

Replying to a question from a TASS correspondent, the British minister announced that during Boris Yeltsin's visit to Great Britain, a Russo-British statement will be adopted and a wide range of issues of international politics and bilateral relations will be discussed. Great Britain, in his words, "is actively advocating that Russia join the International Monetary Fund," through which macro-economic assistance and credits may be provided.

Touching on aid to the former republics of the USSR, Douglas Hurd said that the countries of the West are going over to the third stage in it. The first was assistance with foodstuffs; the second, the granting of credits; and the third, macro-economic aid. The last stage is connected with the overall stabilization of the republics' economy and the strengthening of the position of the ruble. In his opinion, this stage will require international efforts, in particular, via the channels of the International Monetary Fund and other international financial organizations. Douglas Hurd added that the countries of the West will increase their financial aid to the Commonwealth of Independent States' republics. For example, the "Group of Seven" intend to render aid amounting to $20 billion.

Douglas Hurd positively appraised the agreements on issues of security worked out in Alma-Ata, and the talks held by him on this subject in the capitals of Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Russia. "The West should render assistance in the neutralization, safe transportation, and storage of nuclear ammunition, which is to be destroyed," the British minister of foreign affairs stressed.

The British minister also noted that, in spite of the serious differences between Russia and Ukraine on the future of the armed forces and the Black Sea Fleet, "these issues are being resolved." "The differences are serious, but the republics do have the desire to hold talks," he said. "It is in our interests that they should be held, since the Yugoslav tragedy is sufficient for Europe and, if such a tragedy were to be repeated on the scale of the USSR, it would be a colossal disaster for the continent."

Gaydar Voices Gratitude to Hurd for UK Aid

LD2001155992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1403 GMT 20 Jan 92

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan (TASS)—Yegor Gaydar, Deputy Chairman of the government of Russia, today met with Douglas Hurd, British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, who is here on a working visit.

In welcoming the guest Yegor Gaydar expressed gratitude for the aid which Great Britain is giving Russia at a difficult time. As during World War II, he noted, Great Britain and Russia are again together now.

Douglas Hurd stated that his government understands the difficulties experienced by Russia and is ready to give assistance.

Yeltsin Cancels Meeting Due to 'Indisposition'

LD1801021392 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 2300 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] The appointment of Juan Antonio Samaranch [president of the International Olympic Committee] with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, to discuss the new unified CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] team, was cancelled due to an indisposition of cardiac origin on the part of Yeltsin.

Meeting Reset for 21 Jan

LD1901192492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has informed journalists that he intends to meet Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee, on 21 January in the Kremlin. This meeting was planned for last Saturday [18 January] but failed to take place due to Yeltsin's illness. The participation of a single team of the former USSR in the forthcoming Olympic games is to be discussed at the meeting.

Press Spokesman Denies Illness

LD1901105492 Hamburg DPA in German 1011 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin is not ill, his press office said today. Valery Grishin, a staff member at Yeltsin's press office, told DPA that the president was indeed tired yesterday because of his long journeys across Russia and because of his busy schedule. "However, rumors that he is ill are not true. Boris Nikolayevich is perfectly healthy." Yeltsin cancelled a meeting with International Olympic Committee President Juan Antonio Samaranch on 18 January, among other appointments.

Preparations in 'Full Swing'

LD2001123192 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—The Moscow International Volleyball Tournament for veteran players for the cup of the first Russian president had its closing day on Sunday [19 January]. On that day President Yeltsin appeared on the stands and was met with applause by spectators and participants. He was surrounded with journalists immediately.

During a brief conversation with journalists, Boris Yeltsin said he is keen on volleyball and used to play volleyball often. But after he had an operation on the vertebra in 1990 he had to switch from volleyball to tennis and developed a liking for the game. Yeltsin said he hoped Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee, will arrive for a meeting with him in the next few days and that they will arrange a tennis match.

Yeltsin said that he and Shamil Tarpishev, president of the Russian Tennis Federation, will play against Samaranch and Vitaliy Smirnov, president of the Council of Presidents of the National Olympic Committees of Sovereign States of the Commonwealth. "So it will be a match of presidents, so to say," Yeltsin said.

Asked if the meeting with Samaranch would help resolve problems of Olympics, Yeltsin said he hoped it would. "As far as I know, our sportsmen are optimistic and preparations are in full swing," he said.

"They would certainly find it unusual to appear in the games without the country's flag and national anthem," the Russian president said. "But it is the main thing that they appear in a single team. We do not demand that our sportsmen win at any cost. I think that sport is for sportsmen and politics is for politicians."

Burbulis, Finnish Prime Minister Sign Accords

LD2001175792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1546 GMT 20 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Voitto Leskinen]

[Text] Helsinki, 20 Jan (TASS)—A solemn ceremony for signing a treaty on the fundamentals of relations between the Russian Federation and the Finnish Republic, and also two intergovernment agreements—on trade and economic cooperation, and on cooperation in Murmansk oblast, the Karelian Republic, St. Petersburg, and Leningrad Oblast—was held in the president's palace here today. The treaty was signed by Finnish Prime Minister Esko Aho and Gennadiy Burbulis, the first deputy chairman of the government of the Russian Federation and state secretary of Russia, who is on a visit to Helsinki. At the same time, there was an exchange of notes which recognize the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance of 1948 as invalid. President Mauno Koivisto of Finland was present at the ceremony.

At a luncheon which took place later, the president said that, by signing these documents, Finland had been the first Western country to reaffirm a contractual basis for the development of its relations with the Russian Federation. "By developing ties with Russia," he noted, "we can preserve all the positive things which have been accumulated in the sphere of our mutual relations in recent years."

"The agreements which have been concluded," the president emphasized, "will promote in the best possible way the implementation of this desire. They are based on the fact that geographical proximity and the numerous historical ties between our peoples create a natural foundation for multifaceted contacts and cooperation. At the same time, they reflect the immense changes which are happening in Europe."

M. Koivisto expressed the hope that Russian President Boris Yeltsin would be able to visit Finland. "I can assure you," he said, "that the people of Finland will be pleased to greet him as a very welcome guest. I would like to hope that he will be able to take part in the summit meeting of the CSCE member countries, which is to be held in Helsinki this year."

G. Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the government of the Russian Federation, speaking in reply, expressed gratitude for the hospitality and attention which had been received by the first Russian government delegation to come to Finland since Russia had acquired state independence. "I believe," he said, turning to the president, "that you and all the people of Finland, who have so worthily and solicitously preserved your independence, the 75th anniversary of which is being marked this year, are particularly aware of the feelings of the Russian people who have freed themselves from a totalitarian system and an ideology of repression."

The treaty on the fundamentals of relations, which has just been signed between the two countries, was described by Gennadiy Burbulis as the first full-scale political agreement between the new Russia and a Western state. "It is symbolic," he noted, "that the treaty has been concluded with Finland, our neighbor and partner of long standing. I would call the document a new generation treaty. It has been constructed with regard for both the trends of development within our countries and the prospects for European politics. On the basis of the experience of preceding decades, we are creating the conditions today for that experience to develop in conformity with the realities of a new age."

Of the two inter-governmental agreements which were signed today, Gennadiy Burbulis said that these are the first steps towards the formation of a new treaty-based infra-structure for our relations, without which civilized contact between two states is impossible. "Of course," he noted, "we will not achieve this unless there is peace in the world and in Europe. Democratic Russia therefore intends to take the road of the accelerated dismantling of military confrontational structures, the fundamental removal of ideology from international relations, and the most scrupulous provision of human rights guarantees."

In conclusion, G. Burbulis conveyed warm greetings to Mauno Koivisto from Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, and an invitation to make an official visit to Moscow.

Yeltsin, Koivisto Discuss Treaty

OW2001222092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1820 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In a telephone conversation Monday [20 January] Finland's President Mauno Koivisto and Russian President Boris Yeltsin discussed bilateral relations, reforms under way in Russia, humanitarian aid and European cooperation. The main topic was the preparation of a Russian-Finnish treaty.

Burbulis Begins Official Visit to Sweden

LD2101105892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0954 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Stockholm, 21 Jan (TASS)—Gennadiy Burbulis, the secretary of state of the Russian Federation and first vice premier of the government, arrrived in the Swedish capital today. During a two-day official visit, he will hold talks with the leaders of the Cabinet of Ministers and will be received by Carl XVI Gustaf, the king of Sweden. Meetings with representatives of the country's business and academic circles will also take place.

The Russian secretary OF state was met at the airplane at the international Arlanda Airport by Premier Carl Bildt. Among those meeting him was Oleg Grinevskiy, the Russian Federation's representative in Sweden.

Interviewed by Swedish Paper

LD2001114592 Moscow TASS in English 1029 GMT 20 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Gorokhov]

[Text] Stockholm January 20 TASS—"The Commonwealth of Independent States shall steadily grow stronger despite current differences on problems of defence and economy," Gennadiy Burbulis, state secretary of the Russian Federation and first vice-premier of Russia, told the Stockholm newspaper SVENSKA DAGBLADET on the threshold of his official visit to Sweden, scheduled for next week. The interview is published in today's issue of the newspaper SVENSKA DAGBLADET. Burbulis dwelt at length on the prospects and problems of the Commonwealth of Independent States and on Russia's policy.

"The Commonwealth's formation," he noted, "was historically inevitable. It replaced a totalitarian communist system permeated by suspicion, mistrust and desire to resolve one's problems at the expense of others. A new political and diplomatic morality is required to ensure its development."

The state secretary believes the "Commonwealth of Independent States will be able to consolidize in the process of the search for common priorities. Full-blooded structures, serving its interests, are bound to emerge eventually."

Speaking about defence agreements, Burbulis said they were now being implemented "not as it was initially conceived". He believes there are two ways to resolve these problems. "It is important to show convincingly the consequences, both economic and purely professional, that may appear if we fail to carry out our initial plans. But we can also conclude an agreement with the states that do not disagree with us and support the joint defence idea," he stressed. The state secretary said he had the impression that Kyrgyzstan and Armenia were ready to join such an agreement along with Kazakhstan.

"As to Ukraine and Moldova, certain corrections are warranted in this case," Burbulis stated. "But we must not repeat the mistakes of the Soviet Union and strive to make accession to the agreement identical in inform [as received] and immediate for all states. The agreements that we shall conclude with individual states may be left open for the accession of those who, for various reasons, are not yet ready to join them."

Commenting on the domestic situation in Russia, Burbulis said President Yeltsin's decision to head the Russian Government was "the only possible one". "Those who criticise this step," he noted, "have failed to realise the nature and dimensions of our economic problems. We have arrived at the conclusion that three preconditions are needed to carry out the reform. First of all, the head of the government should have a stable political will, which our head of state obviously has. Secondly, it is necessary to put an end to the painful habit when the cabinet does not rely above all on the competence and professionalism of its ministers. And last but not least—the government must consist of like-minded members, capable of working as a single team."

According to Burbulis, the hoisting of prices in itself cannot alter the foundations of the previous economic system. "We are trying to tackle this task only now. Dragged out debates over various canonical reforms within the frameworks of socialist illusions have complicated it. The hoisting of prices will not produce any lasting effect without demonopolisation both of production and distribution," he said.

"We are afflicted not by one, but by a whole line of economic ailments," Burbulis stressed. "Our deranged financial and monetary policy is the main drawback. This policy constitutes the blood system of any economy and no other reforms will be effective if we fail to rectify the situation. The inflation would have reached exceptionally dangerous dimensions if we continued to put off the reform of prices."

"Privatisation must be carried out at a faster pace and much more persistently. It is necessary to overcome the old mentality and to further the reform in order to make it irreversible. The Russian Government advocates an effective tax policy. We must balance out the state's spendings and revenues. Funds are needed to protect the sections of the population that remain outside the process of privatisation."

"The main purpose of the visit to Sweden," Burbulis stressed, "is to inform its leadership that Russia now comes out on the world arena as a full-blooded democratic state. Our country is able to fulfill its international commitments. Russia is taking part in the European process as a civilised partner, striving for business cooperation."

Rogachev, DPRK Talks of 'Mutual Benefit'

LD1801073992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0655 GMT 18 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Nadashkevich]

[Text] Pyongyang, 18 Jan (TASS)—Talks took place here today between I.A. Rogachev, special envoy of the president of the Russian Federation and ambassador at large, and Kang Sok-chu, acting minister of foreign affairs of the DPRK.

The sides exchanged information on the situation in the countries. Topical questions of Russian-Korean relations were discussed. The mutual desire was expressed for the further development of cooperation between Russia and the DPRK on the principles of equality and mutual benefit in accordance with the national interests of each side.

Particular attention was paid at the talks to the situation on the Korean peninsula, in particular, to the problem of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and also of nuclear safety in Korea. The Russian side expressed satisfaction with the progress in inter-Korean affairs, including with the reaching of an agreement on the nonnuclear status of the Korean peninsula. It called for the earliest possible settlement of the DPRK's relations with the International Atomic Energy Agency through the signing and implementation of an agreement on nuclear guarantees. The Korean side stated that it will sign an agreement in January and intends to implement it steadfastly. [Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 0900 GMT on 21 January in a similar report adds: "Igor Rogachev also noted that if the joint North-South declaration on a nonnuclear status for the Korean peninsula were approved at the next meeting of prime ministers of the DPRK and the ROK in February, Russia would be prepared to act as guarantor for it."]

The sides also examined a number of questions of mutual interest on international life. A.S. Kapto, ambassador of Russia to the DPRK, took part in the talks.

North Korean Reportage on Rogachev Visit

WA2101134191

For North Korean reportage on the visit to the DPRK by Igor Rogachev, special envoy of the president of the Russian Federation and ambassador in charge of special missions of the Foreign Ministry, including reports on his talks with Kang Sok-chu, first vice-minister of foreign affairs, and with Vice-President Yi Chong-ok please see the North Korea section of the 18 January East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Kozyrev Terms Russian Situation 'Catastrophic'

LD1801001592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2235 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Georg Mikhaylin]

[Text] Paris, 18 Jan (TASS)—"Russia intends to develop relations with Western countries, in particular with those of Europe. The Western democracies are the natural allies of the new democratic Russia, devoted to liberal democratic policies". Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev stated this in an interview to today's issue of the newspaper 'LA CROIX'.

Germany is of great interest in this context, he continued. It has granted Russia four-fifths of all Western food aid. This country is now fulfilling the functions of coordinator in the group of the seven most developed states of the world, the minister explained. In this regard he did not rule out Russian President Boris Yeltsin taking part in the G-7 summit meeting in Munich scheduled for next May. Such a visit should be carefully prepared so that the Russian leader should not leave empty-handed, as happened with Mikhail Gorbachev, who took part in the last year's London summit, A. Kozyrev believes.

Concerning the Yugoslav aspect of Russian foreign policy, the minister stated that Russia will soon recognize Croatia and Slovenia. It is essential to do this so as not to fall behind the other independent states belonging to the Commonwealth. Russia aspires to stability in its relations with them and with the other republics of the former USSR, for example, with Estonia, where many Russians live, the head of the Russian foreign policy department noted. Moreover, he said, the Ministry sees its aim as that securing favorable external conditions for Russia in order to implement internal reforms.

The minister called the situation inside the republic catastrophic. "But it would be naive to believe that the economic reforms will bear fruit 10 days after they began. Calm conditions have to be created for Yegor Gaydar's team to work. Calls for the immediate resignation of the government will only aggravate the situation", A. Kozyrev stressed.

Commentary Previews Yeltsin-Bush 1 Feb Talks

LD1701232192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Vlaadislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] The Russian leader Boris Yeltsin, is due to meet with Mr. Bush on 1 February, a day after attending a Security Council summit meeting in New York. Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov.

The council is expected to discuss a range of issues following the breakup of the Soviet Union and emergence of the new Commonwealth of Independent States. These include control of the former Soviet Union's nuclear weapons and nonproliferation of technologies for manufacturing mass destruction weapons, as well as measures in aid of reforms in Russia and other Commonwealth countries.

Coming as it does hot on the heels of the Security Council meeting, Boris Yeltsin's talks with President Bush must be seen in a sense as a follow-up to the Security Council discussions. Mr. Bush's national security adviser, Mr. Brent Scowcroft, said the two leaders are expected to discuss relations between the former Soviet republics, economic reforms and the future of nuclear weapons in the region. The identity of the two agendas reemphasizes, as it were, the significance of the Russian-American summit.

Not only is Russia an heir apparent to the Soviet Union's seat on the Security Council and other international agencies, but it also wants to pursue the policies of the former super power at [as heard] wide-ranging cooperation with the rest of the world and partnership with the United States. Moscow and Washington have largely improved their relations in recent years, but even better opportunities are being opened up to improve them further. Russia and the United States can now become natural allies because of their mutual commitment to democracy and a market economy. There is no reason why the relations between Moscow and Washington cannot be taken on to a level of America's relations with its NATO allies such as Britain, France or Germany. Boris Yeltsin will come up with some arguments in favor of such a realignment of relations, including his deep commitment to democracy and a package of measures for Russia's economic recovery, something that was lacking in superpower relations even at the best of times in the past.

The forthcoming summit can be pivotal for rapprochment between Russia and the United States provided Washington makes its own part of the way [as heard] and looks anew at Russia as it is now. Away from the Administration's understanding of Moscow's hardships and of the need to aid Russian reforms, it is most important that the Americans should make a sound assessment of the opportunities lying ahead to [as heard] themselves and their economy. An American State Department official, Mr. Paul Gobo, said recently that the former Soviet Union could become a large world market in the next five years and it was highly important that the United States ensures its presence there. But tomorrow is done today [as heard] and the forthcoming Russian-American summit may well contribute to the cause of opening new export markets.

Gaydar Meets Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister

LD2001215892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1939 GMT 20 Jan 92

[By TASS Diplomatic Correspondent Igor Bulanov]

[Text] Moscow 20 January (TASS)—Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar had a meeting today with Kamal al-Janzuri, deputy prime minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt, who is in Moscow at the head of a delegation including ministers and top Egyptian industrialists.

Yegor Gaydar remarked that the Russian Government is interested in transforming the traditional Soviet-Egyptian relations into Russian-Egyptian relations, taking account, of course, both of the interests of the other former union republics in Egypt and also of the interests of the latter country in other Commonwealth member states. Kamal al-Janzuri emphasized the need to broaden trade and economic relations between the two countries. The Egyptian side also proposed that use should be made of the rich experience it has accumulated in privatization, banking activities and the production of consumer goods.

Turkey's Foreign Minister Arrives in Moscow

LD2001200192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 92

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Krolikov]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan (TASS)—Turkey's Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin arrived in Moscow today on an official visit. This is the first official contact between the head of the Turkish foreign policy department and the leadership of the Russian Federation since the collapse of the Union and the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS].

"This visit will provide a good opportunity to talk about the foundations of future relations between Turkey and Russia," Hikmet Cetin said at a news conference. The visitor noted that the sides intend first and foremost to examine the prospects for trade and economic ties. "Cooperation between our countries has always developed with an increasing trend, and we intend to continue it on the same plane," he noted.

Concerning the dispute between Russia and Ukraine over the Black Sea Fleet, the head of Turkey's foreign policy department emphasized that this issue, like all others that may arise between the CIS countries, should be resolved by peaceful means. Turkey intends to build its relationship with the countries of the Commonwealth on the basis of equality, the minister continued.

Mujahidin Leader Qualifies POWs' Return

LD1701233592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Golboddin Hekmatyar, one of the leaders of the Afghan mujahidin, has said that he will return all our prisoners of war when the war in Afghanistan is completely over. One of his new demands is that Moscow must acknowledge that the Najibollah regime is unlawful. Hekmatyar has stated that his side lost 40,000 people in the war and intends to carry out an exchange of prisoners on an equal footing. The statement by Golboddin Hekmatyar is published in the issue of EKHO PLANETY which appears tomorrow.

Trade With India 'May Simply Cease'

OW1701195592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A visit to Moscow by a delegation headed by Indian state secretary for foreign affairs Jothindra Nath Dixit was characterized "by a spirit of the traditional Russian-Indian friendship", Mr. Vitaliy Churkin, the official spokesman for the Russian foreign ministry, said. According to Mr. Churkin, both sides have reaffirmed their intent to finalize the draft treaty of friendship and cooperation between Russia and India.

Even though the Indian visit was indeed fruitful politically, economically speaking it was not equally successful. It is an opinion expressed by a high-ranking official of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Foreign Economic Relations Committee in a conversation with a DP [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent. The sides were unable to sign either a trade agreement or a protocol of trade turnover for 1992. "The signing was precluded by the state of uncertainty all of us are experiencing now", the expert added. He explained that all treaties with India had been signed on behalf of the now defunct Soviet Union. "Now we have to redraft everything, but nobody knows how to do it".

An immediate consequence of this may be that trade between Russia and India may simply cease. This is the more probable because no arrangements for defining the exchange rate of the ruble against the rupee have not been worked out. [sentence as received] The sides do not seem to try to accelerate a search for these arrangements, since Indian business people expect further devaluation of the ruble and the Russian side, on the contrary, hopes it will recover.

Nevertheless, the foreign economic expert said, "certain positive results" have been reached in Moscow. "Russian and Indian specialists have found common ground, streamlined mutually acceptable positions and developed a concept of trade and economic cooperation." The expert expressed his hope that by February when the sides are to meet again (tentatively in Delhi) these decisions will have been taken.

Khasbulatov Comments on Relations With Germany

LD1701205792 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—We do not intend to revise the results of Gorbachev's foreign policy, including relations with Germany, Russian Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov told German parliament member and Deputy Chairman of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] faction Karl-Heinz Hornhues.

"Everything positive connected with the Gorbachev-Kohl policy will be preserved and further developed," the Russian official said.

The interlocutors agreed Russia and Germany have enough possibilities to expand mutually beneficial cooperation, primarily in the economy.

Estimating the recent Russian-German economic interaction, Khasbulatov said he cannot understand why the German business community is curtailing cooperation with Russia. There are no grounds for this: Over the past eighteen months the Russian parliament has adopted almost 400 bills to create a solid legal basis for the market economy.

Germany grants 2.1 billion rouble credits to Russia, but it could also widely invest in the Russian economy, Khasbulatov stressed.

Touching on the issue of Volga Germans, Khasbulatov recalled the Russian parliament has adopted a law on repressed peoples. No one has canceled this law, thus, justice as regards Volga Germans must triumph, he said.

"The parliament does not support claims that the republic of Volga Germans will not be restored," the parliament chairman noted.

Hornhues said his electors insisted he comes to Russia to see with his own eyes the life of Russian Germans. With this purpose, he will visit the town of Tver.

Khasbulatov expressed perplexity in connection with the German mass media's occasional misinterpretation of current processes in the former Soviet Union, including Russia. He asked the guest to influence with the help of German parliamentarians correspondents who cover the Russian life not quite truthfully or sometimes incorrectly.

Hornhues confirmed the previously sent invitation of the German parliament to Khasbulatov to come on an official visit to Germany, which, in his opinion, will contribute to the consolidation of the German-Russian relations.

The trip is scheduled for February or March, 1992.

Uranium Exports To Increase 'Considerably'

LD1801111792 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Leaders of the Russian Atomic Energy Department have told the press that the country plans to considerably increase its exports of uranium. The data, first made public, say that about 45 percent of the world's reserves of uranium have been prospected on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Last year the country got 500 million dollars from its exports of nuclear raw materials. It is planned to bring the annual exports of uranium to reach the sum of one and a half billion dollars.

Officials Deny Reports of 'Red Mercury' Sales

LD1701185892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1652 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "External Economic Relations" section]

[Text] Igor Tantlevskiy, assistant to the Irkutsk regional administration chief, denied on January 16 reports that enterprises in the region are involved in the export of red mercury. Commenting on the TASS report of January 9 that Italian police seized two kilograms of red mercury in Milan, which were imported to the country illicitly and part of which allegedly came from Irkutsk, Tantlevskiy told PF [POSTFACTUM]: Red mercury is not used in the Irkutsk region, is not produced there and is not available on the territory of the region.

Tantlevskiy denied a statement of the Irkutsk regional administration chief Yuriy Nozhikov that at least one enterprise in the region is involved in red mercury operations, describing it as erroneous.

Nozhikov told PF on January 15 that a small consignment of red mercury was purchased by the Vostsibelement plant, which is located in the city of Svirsk, the Irkutsk region, from a secret plant in Altay territory. He said the purchased consignment was then sent to Moscow's Foton plant and its trace was then lost. Vostsibelement specializes in the production of batteries and zinc accumulators.

PF learned from unofficial sources in Irkutsk's business community on January 15 that a certain Czechoslovak firm is holding negotiations with Irkutsk exchanges, specifically the Irkutsk exchange union, to purchase red mercury. The Czechoslovak side is alleged to have a license from the Russian Federation Government for taking red mercury out of the country.

Captain Sergey Krupovich, a staffer of the Russian Federal Security Agency Irkutsk department press service, told PF: This is not our competence. We only maintain the secrecy regime. What can we do if we don't even know whom we are subordinate to.

Yuriy Grachev, deputy prosecutor in the Irkutsk region with responsibility for supervising the activity of state security bodies, said on January 15 he knew nothing about the scandal over red mercury and work by the Federal Security Agency to check the reports about the scandal. The Federal Security Agency is guided in its work by what it was entrusted with rather than common sense. All press reports are analyzed in our agency and we will deal with red mercury. Evidently, I will get a pertinent instruction from the regional public prosecutor today or tomorrow, Grachev said.

People's Deputy of the Irkutsk regional council Yuriy Shevelev sent an inquiry to Colonel Valeriy Shestak, head of the Irkutsk department of the Federal Security Agency, demanding that he reports through the Irkutsk regional newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH (SOVIET YOUTH) whether nuclear materials are sited on the territory of the Irkutsk region and if their export with the connivance of security bodies is possible.

Federation Affairs

Contents of Yeltsin's Budget Message Outlined

LD1801003792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2158 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] On January 17 Russian people's deputies received Russian President Boris Yeltsin's budget message on 173 pages. The budget message includes the following:

1. Basic guidelines of Russian Federation budget policy (in the 1st quarter of 1992)

2. On preliminary results of performance of the Russian Federation republican budget for 1991 and on shaping the Russian Federation budget system in the 1991 1st quarter

3. Report on predicted estimates of basic indices of socio- economic development of the Russian Federation in 1992 1st quarter and for 1992 on the whole, and predicted basic indices of socio-economic development of Russia for 1992

4. Consolidated balance sheet of the state for the 1992 1st quarter. The message points out that the income of the republican budget of Russia and the economic stabilization fund for 1991 was preliminarily estimated at R [rubles] 160,600 million (R18,800 million less than calculated before). The expenditures will be, according to preliminary data, R221,000 million. The republican budget deficit by the end of 1991 was R60,400 million, and with due regard of debt to the Central Bank of Russia equalling R48,000 million the overall deficit was R108,400 million. The package of budget documents cites the basic indices for predicted consolidated Russian budget for 1992 1st quarter, according to which the revenues will be R499,400 million and expenditures will be R509,800 million. The Russian republican budget for the 1992 1st quarter has been predicted for the revenue of R397,800 million and for expenditures of R409,300 million, with a deficit of R11,500 million, or 3 percent to expenditures. Material production financing will amount in the 1992 1st quarter to R36,400 million. State subsidies for foodstuffs with regulated prices will reach R832 million. R10 billion will be allocated for the alleviation of social consequences and the creation of economic prerequisites for defense-to-civilian conversion. The explanatory notes for the issue of allocation in the Russian Federation budget for the 1st quarter of finances for top-priority expenditures related to the current conversion of military production say that under way is, jointly by the Defense Ministry and the Ministry of Industry, the development of projected values for purchase of weapons and military equipment in 1992 at the total of R5,250 million (in 1991 prices), or an 8-fold reduction with respect to 1991. The purchase in the 1992 1st quarter will amount to approximately R1,200 million

in 1991 prices and R6,600 in current prices. For the attenuation of social consequences of the drastic drop in production of weapons and military equipment and for the creation of economic prerequisites for the conversion, the preliminary total for the 1st quarter will be over R20 billion from all sources of finance, including R10 billion at the expense of the budget. The expenditures of the republican budget for the operations related to foreign economic activities will reach R219,652 thou [as received], of which R137,500 thou [as received] will be spent for purchase of foreign currencies for the republican hard currency fund of the Russian Federation. Expenditures for the elimination of the Chernobyl consequences in the project of the republican budget for 1992 1st quarter are indicated at R5,094,600 thou [as received]. The overall sum of budget financing of sociocultural organizations of republican subordination in the 1st quarter will rise against 1991 by a factor of 2.7 and will amount to R22,400 million. Budget deficit will be financed in the first quarter of 1992 by state borrowing.

Further on Budget

OW1901192492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Today (January 18) Russian deputies were handed copies of President Boris Yeltsin's budget letter. The document, whose discussion will start next week, consists of four sections guidelines for the budgetary policy in the first quarter of this year; preliminary statistics on last year's budget; forecasts on and assessments of the main parameters of Russia's social and economic development during this year, and a summary financial balance for Russia for the first quarter of 1992.

The difficult economic situation in Russia, the letter emphasizes, calls for urgent and effective measures to keep the new state going. Command-and-administer methods would not be very helpful here. Market economics needs reliable money and stable prices, whereas the deficit of the state budget keeps the prices up and the value of money down.

The liberalization of prices is being accompanied by their growth, which necessitates a wide range of social security measures. Simultaneously indexation will be introduced for the incomes of the employees of budget-supported establishments.

Expenditures from the state budget will be reduced, above all by cutting down centralized investments, military spending and the financing of social programmes and by stopping to subsidize unprofitable enterprises. The first stage of the reforms should above all result in the drastic reduction of the budget deficit, and possibly its complete elimination, a strict control of the issue of money, the provision of goods for the market and restrictions imposed on the growth of prices.

The second stage will comprise financial, taxation, and foreign trade measures to further stabilize prices, strengthen the rouble in order to make it convertible later on and a large-scale reform of property relations. The privatization of agricultural enterprises will be accompanied by an agrarian reform involving land redistribution.

Simultaneously with the economic reform the government will be tackling a number of short- and long-term economic tasks. It is, above all, planned to provide enough food and first-necessity goods for the population and normalize the supplies of goods sold at regulated prices.

The long-term tasks will consist of measures to encourage investment and restructure production. Special attention is paid to the forming of normal relations with other Commonwealth states.

The government, the document stresses, is taking urgent measures to improve the food situation in the country. Russia has already begun to receive food on earlier credits. These supplies will significantly grow in scale after January 20. It has been decided to make use of some of the state reserves and even some of the stocks to be used in the event of war. A set of measures has been devised to do away with the monopoly in food trade and with the activities of organized crime, which is very powerful in this sphere. Local government bodies have been vested vith powers necessary for this. A government commission has been set up to analyse the situation and make proposals on the overcoming of the crisis. Considerable attention is being paid to measures to stabilize the functioning of the priority branches of the economy.

Economic revival to a great extent depends on the stabilization of prices and hence on the stabilization of the rouble, the letter emphasizes. According to the government's forecasts, prices for most consumer and industrial goods will basically have been stabilized in Russia by the end of the first quarter of 1992. Their subsequent growth will amount to no more than 1-5% a month.

The growth of production is extremely important during the introduction of market economics. In this connection, the document points out, ways should be found to stimulate scientific and technical progress by a softer taxation policy. The value added tax will constitute an important item of budget revenues. It is expected to become one of the principal measures in the stabilization of the financial situation in Russia.

Russia's national income in the first quarter of 1992 is anticipated to constitute 81.9% of the figure for the last quarter of 1991. The GNP is expected to amount to 1,115 bn [billion] roubles. Value added tax is expected to make up over 28% of the revenue part of the budget, taxes on profits, more than 13%, excise duties, about 4%, the population's income taxes, also about 4% and revenues from foreign trade, 45-46%.

Yeltsin Meets Russian Culture Representatives

OW2001221892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1820 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A meeting between President Boris Yeltsin and a group of cultural figures, among them Oleg Tabakov, Yuriy Nikulin, Nikolay Gubenko, Anastasiya Vertinskaya, on Monday [20 January] focused on development of the Russian culture. As a result of the meeting, Boris Yeltsin issued a decree setting up the Russian Cultural Center in Moscow. The Center has been granted the building of the former Soviet Culture Ministry in Arbat.

Procurator General Holds News Conference

LD2101120492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Report by M. Ponomarev on news conference held by Russian Procurator General Stepankov in Moscow on 21 January; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] So the investigation into the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency is over. Let me remind you that it runs to 125 volumes. Russian Procurator General Stepankov and Lisov, the chief of the investigation team, met journalists today to provide unambiguous answers to questions that until now have remained unanswered for various reasons.

First: Mikhail Gorbachev is recognized as not to have been involved and to be innocent.

Second: The August putsch was not a spontaneous event. It was preceded by serious preparations, expressed not only in the devising of a coup plan, but also in the drafting of various documents, decrees, and resolutions to be brought into force after the establishment of new authorities. In particular, a decree had been drafted on introducing special patrols in the country. Military patrols were to shoot thieves, hooligans, and saboteurs on the spot, without trial or investigation.

Third: In the course of the investigation, the wording betraying the homeland was changed. Today, 15 people are being charged with plotting to seize power. It is now evident that the putschists' aim was to return the development of social processes to the point they had reached in 1984—to freeze the activities of all executive and legislative bodies from top to bottom. All new laws that had appeared over the past six years were to be repealed under a program that had been worked out.

Fourth: All of the accused are currently familiarizing themselves with the details of the case. Lukyanov has taken a peculiar position—he has declined to testify and continues to decline to do so.

And last: It was established during the investigation that Boris Pugo, having decided to commit suicide, shot his wife. The outcome of the investigation will be the trial. Valentin Stepankov believes the trial can and should be an open one. But it is still too early to name a date for the trial to begin.

Barannikov, Yerin Appointments Viewed

PM2101122992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 92 p 2

[Article by Georgiy Ovcharenko: "Professionals Have Come"]

[Text] As has already been reported, the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs, without having begun to operate, has bv a decision of the Russian Constitutional Court "departed this life." President Boris Yeltsin has repealed his decree on its creation. But on the same day he signed two new decrees—on the dismissal from their posts of the former leaders of the union Interrepublic Security Service, the Russian Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs, and the RSFSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and on the appointment of Viktor Barannikov as general director of the Russian Federal Security Agency and Viktor Yerin as Russian Federation minister of internal affairs.

To judge by the telephone calls to the editorial office from readers and staffers of law enforcement organs, reaction to B. Yeltsin's new decrees is varied. The main complaint is: Is it not time to start struggling against crime, which is snowballing today, instead of continuing the endless reorganizations and cadres changes?

Well, that is a valid question, as they say. But in my view it is simply impossible today to seek the state's security, to counter organized crime and corruption, robbery and mugging. using the former method, using the former ossified structures and unprofessional leaders. New ideas are needed, as are modern material and technical means and bold professionals. And from this viewpoint I am sure that the new appointments made by B. Yeltsin should be supported.

Primarily because both Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov and Viktor Fedorovich Yerin are real professionals. In contrast to many militia and KGB leaders who, with little understanding of their profession, joined it from nomenklatura and party apparatus posts, both Viktors, having worked in production—one as a lathe operator, the other as a fitter—began service as militia privates. And they did not skip a single rung on the ladder which brought them to their present posts. Each of them has solved dozens of very complex crimes. And crimes which could go down in special manuals and be the subject of a psychological detective story.

There is one more aspect of the question. Today, after the unsuccessful decision to create the Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs, there is a danger of a confrontation between the militia staffers and the Federal Security Agency which, you will agree, can only play into the hands of the criminal world. So, knowing the personal qualities of Barannikov and Yerin and their real manly friendship and professional principledness, I can say with confidence that the Russian MVD and Federal Security Agency, with close and businesslike cooperation without which an effective struggle against any types of crime is impossible, will determine clearly their spheres of influence within the next few days.

I think that with the arrival of V. Barannikov and V. Yerin there will be an end to the cadres changes in the law enforcement organs whereby people were often chosen not for their professional qualities but on the basis of quite different principles, including their political convictions.

Of course it is possible to give a hostile reception to the appointment of the new leaders of the Russian Federal Security Agency and MVD which, incidentally, one newspaper already has done. Only this is of little benefit to us all. It will be of far greater benefit if the new leadership is supported and if we help to do as rapidly as possible what Viktor Barannikov and Viktor Yerin are planning. And believe me, they have plenty of effective ideas. They of all people know their job.

Filatov Disapproves of Appointments

LD1801200192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1757 GMT 18 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] The first deputy chairman of Russian Federation [RF] Supreme Soviet does not approve the appointing of Viktor Barannikov, director-general of RF Federal Security Agency, and Viktor Yerin, RF minister of interior affairs on January 18. First Deputy Chairman of the RF Supreme Soviet Sergey Filatov told PF [POSTFACTUM]: These appointments took me by surprise. I believe that people from Union structures should not be promoted to these posts. In Filatov's opinion, appointing Barannikov and Yerin does not promote stability of the situation in this country: The advent of top executives of the Union departments to Russian structures might cause resentment of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member-states and employees of the Federal Security Agency and the RF Ministry of the Interior.

Yeltsin Dismisses Security, Interior Officials

LD1701223892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2029 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin on January 15 appointed Viktor Barannikov general director of the Russian Federation's Federal Security Agency. Viktor Yerin was appointed interior minister of the Rusian Federation on January 15, Boris Yeltsin also signed decrees on considering null and void the decree of December 19, 1991 on creating the Security and Interior Ministry of the Russian Federation, and on relieving from office of Viktor Barannikov (former minister of security and interior of Russia), Viktor Yerin (former first deputy minister of security and interior of Russia), Anatoliy Aleynikov (former first deputy minister of security and interior of Russia), Viktor Ivanenko (former general director of the Federal Security Agency of Russia), Andrey Dunayev (former interior minister of Russia) and Vadim Bakatin (former chairman of the Inter-Republican Security Service of the USSR).

PF [POSTFACTUM] was told on January 17 at the Public Affairs Center of the Russian Federal Security Agency that Viktor Ivanenko is officially on holidays until January 29, 1992.

Foreign Intelligence Deputy Director Named

LD1801174192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1403 GMT 18 Jan 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] According to informed sources Ivan Gorelovskiy, former deputy chairman of the defense department, under the USSR president, is now appointed deputy general director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service. Gorelovskiy was born in 1942, and is a graduate of the KGB Higher School and the Higher Party School, under the CPSU Central Committee. He was KGB chairman in Azerbaijan, and then, after the January 1990 events in Baku, was transferred to head a CPSU Central Committee sector.

Lately Ivan Gorelovskiy has been working in the USSR president's apparatus. He was elected USSR people's deputy in Azerbaijan.

U.S. Filming of Intelligence Archives Denied

LD1701213192 Moscow TASS in English 2059 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By CRIME-PRESS-TASS correspondent Sergey Oleinik]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The press-bureau of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (RFIS) categorically denied rumours about alleged access of American RHI Entertainment television company to archives of its department. "Such statements do not conform to reality. Russian Intelligence Service did not have any contacts with the aforesaid company", an official statement made public here stated.

"We have no intentions of trading our secret service archives, but, of course, we are ready to share our glorious history to a reasonable extent with mass information media", head of the press-bureau of the RFIS Yuriy Kobaladze said. This readiness applies to RHI tv company also. But with an important reservation, before giving numerous interviews about alleged access to Soviet secret service archives, one must have them. But the company authorities did not even approach us with a request to make them available to them", Yuriy Kobaladze said.

Rustkoy Discusses Future of Armed Forces

PM2001113992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 pp 1, 3

[Article by Hero of the Soviet Union Aleksandr Rutskoy: "They Swear an Oath of Allegiance Only Once..."]

[Text] The political, economic, and spiritual crisis which we have been experiencing in recent years has been aggravated still further with the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Naturally, this process affects most directly the fate of the Armed Forces. I do not know whether any of them has ever considered that they will one day have to be answerable for this policy.

Today the world is observing with mounting alarm the dangerous playing with political fire in the powder keg they call the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. Only a few politicians have drawn from the critical events of recent years an understanding of the fact that people with weapons in their hands will no longer remain impervious to the insults to their human dignity and to the shortsighted attempts of national leaders to realize their own selfish interests under cover of an anti-army campaign.

To some degree what is happening sometimes reminds me of the 1916-1917 situation when the Russian Army, in part against its will, was drawn into the political struggle. We all know what the result was. But at the time the bolsheviks, even if only at the level of slogans, constantly came out in support of the servicemen's interests. But today politicians, Russian and others, recall even slogans only rarely, finding no time to address the Army's problems in earnest. And what will happen in this case may only be conjectured, knowing the overall situation both in the country and in the Army.

The development of events has been so rapid that on many questions the Army has been driven into an impasse. Talk of military reform in recent years has remained only talk; conversion has been conducted along the principle "destroy first and then we will see;" not one of the widely advertized programs for the social protection of servicemen, including those being withdrawn from Germany, has been completely fulfilled. I shall be honest and say, because I myself witnessed it, that the servicemen's position has only worsened and their problems have been so aggravated in individual regions that they threaten to have unpredictable consequences.

In this situation it would be worth pausing to think. But no. The undistinguished policy threatens to cause the emergence of a conflict between the fraternal Russian and Ukrainian peoples. The dispute over the Black Sea Fleet graphically shows that personal ambition in politics may have an adverse effect on the fate of tens of millions of people. And in addition to this question new questions which are no less complex may arise at any moment on the agenda.

Therefore in my view it would be important today to resolutely renounce the acceleration of attempts to dismantle the Army as a unified mechanism. A serious and balanced analysis of the situation in the armed forces themselves in various regions and the elaboration of a new military doctrine and new mechanism for collaboration between the sovereign states on military questions are needed. There this must be done professionally and not at the level of amateur meetings of people who have only a murky idea of the reality of the army.

Only naive people can think that the existence of a unified army with a harmonious structure is a threat to the independence and sovereignty of a particular CIS state. If the studied and legally precise agreement between them on questions of joint defense is signed, that is ruled out.

But if it is separated along national line, with internal ties destroyed and servicemen cast to the whim of fate, the Army could become a destabilizing factor. And not only at national level but also within the framework of the entire CIS, becoming hostage, for instance, to an extremist politician under the conditions of mounting economic crisis.

It is foolish to suppose that the subsequent development of events within the CIS framework will be uniformly cloudless and that we are protected once and for all from conflicts. The strategic forces in a conflict situation would not be able to be a cementing force but, conversely, could suddenly be a field for a battle between individual sovereign states and national armies, placing the whole world on the verge of catastrophe. So is it not better to think about all this right now?

In this connection, about the oath. I have already said repeatedly that by long-standing tradition a real Russian officer swears an oath of allegiance only once. He swears an oath of allegiance to the Motherland. To the Fatherland. In the past month, I have not met a single officer who would be prepared to swear an oath of allegiance to the CIS. To Russia—yes. To the Ukraine—yes, but always no to the CIS.

And primarily because the Commonwealth hastily created to the tinkle of crystal goblets in Belovezhskaya Forest does not contain a single element of what we regard as the Motherland. And nonetheless since it has been formed, we must think about the defense of the interests of all its members, ruling out a national-careerist approach.

But do think nonetheless about what is to happen to the international crew of, for instance, a submarine with nuclear weapons on board if, for instance, the CIS suddenly disintegrates?

Especially as in Kiev some people are openly stating that the Ukraine is only a "temporary guest" in the CIS.

In this connection I want to draw attention to the fact that both in society and in army circles very many people will not remain neutral to the aspiration of a number of Russian leaders, including diplomatic leaders, to divide Russia for the sake of a mythical compromise. Neither the Black Sea Fleet, which occupies a special place in Russia's history, nor the Kurils have been given to them by the Russians to use for trading purposes.

Yes, today many people are taking an oath of loyalty to the Ukraine, including Russians. The reason is not only that they feel more economically protected there. It is also that the Russian Government frankly considers as secondary the question of the defense of the rights of Russians outside the republic, including servicemen. After all it has done nothing apart from making individual declarations. And it is shamelessly quiet when in a neighboring state (incidentally one which still has a common currency and much else in common with us) a "wolf hunt" is beginning against the servicemen—with signal flags and the cries of the beaters. Yet after all retaliatory measures, in particular economic measures, could be taken.

We are hearing statements to the effect that the national armies will be compact and geared to strictly defensive tasks. Although in individual cases it is hard to believe that. Even if it is so, logic leads them, once they have declared it to be national, to compel the Army to rid itself, at the politicians' will of its arsenals under cover of the slogan of the need to resolve economic problems. But who will give a guarantee that this process will proceed by civilized methods, that weapons will not be the subject of active trade deals both on the territory of the former USSR and in regions of local conflicts? After all right now we have more than enough examples of the embezzlement of military property which often becomes the property of bandit formations.

So what must be done? First of all, we must seek to preserve to the utmost the unified armed forces and to prevent politicians from playing "the army card."

But if we do not succeed in doing that then obviously the question of a Russian Army may arise. Although that decision will not be simple either. What it will look like will depend primarily on how the future of the CIS takes shape. And on whether it has any common pivot.

Practical steps with this option for the development of events include the speediest adoption of a law on the Army. It should clearly reflect its role in Russian society, reliably guarantee human rights for the man in military uniform during his period of service and after he has been released into the reserve. The honor and dignity of the Russian officer should be reliably protected by law, including by the right to use personal weapons when attacked.

Also necessary in the new situation is an all-Russian system of training cadres for the Army, Navy, and Air Force, including a broad network of cadet schools.

I see it as expedient to support the idea of resurrecting the Cossack districts, supplying them, through army stocks, with the necessary military property and arms. The Russian Cossacks could take on many functions connected with the defense of Russia's borders.

Under the conditions when Russia is gathering its sons together there is some point in very rapidly resolving the problem of constructing military garrisons and housing for servicemen, including through the removal of construction equipment from industrial construction for a while and the allocation of the necessary materials.

And each person who decides to leave the Army should be sure that he can receive a plot of land and a special bank loan to find his feet in civilian life.

The construction of a Russian Army is impossible without the precise solution of the question of the property left from the Soviet Army. Russia should undoubtedly ensure itself its share, especially as it was primarily through its efforts that a reliable system for the country's defense was created, and that is easy to prove with economic accounts. In particular, one cannot deny Russia's interests in using strategically important establishments like Baykonur and the Semipalatinsk testing range.

At the same time precise legal documents must be elaborated and adopted concerning the transfer to the Russian Army of those who want to transfer. We must also think about how to resolve the question of military service for Russians living on the territory of a particular sovereign state, but prepared to adopt Russian citizenship.

And the main thing is that it is essential to embark immediately on the elaboration of a new military doctrine for Russia, evidently in two possible versions—within the CIS framework and independently.

I have frequently said and I repeat again that the officers' corps in the Army is its bulwark. If we destroy the bulwark we shall destroy not only the Army but also all society, because only with an active stance on the part of the officers is it possible to have the constructive implementation of transformations in the military sphere, backup for the process of civilized disarmament and consistent fulfillment of international agreements and commitments, and the conservation of civil peace.

We cannot yet proceed along a path which rules out any possibility of bloodshed, the development of national conflicts, or the loss of control over the political situation in the country.

Therefore, it is essential that a permanent mechanism operate for discussing military questions within the CIS framework. Specialists—military specialists and diplomats—should be represented in it and not time-serving politicians interested above all in their next television appearance.

After all the Army's problems today are known best to those who serve in it, defending the Motherland and preserving loyalty to the oath and to historical traditions and remembering the glorious victories of Russian arms.

And today as never before the officers can make their specific contribution and use their rich experience to ensure that Russia's defense capability is not undermined.

To end, I should like nonetheless to highlight once again my main thought—the Army should remain unified. And national ambitions will be fully satisfied by national guards.

Rutskoy Opposes 'Banana Republic' Formation

PM2101111592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 pp 1-2

[Article by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy: "Aleksandr Rutskoy: I Do Not Want To Live in a 'Banana Republic'"]

[Text] I have received many letters and messages of late. Their content is varied, incorporating both support and rejection of my views. But all of them have made me think deeply about what is happening in Russia today. And not only in Russia, but throughout the territory of the country which was, until recently, known as the Soviet Union.

The country, in my opinion, is not simply in crisis, it is in a political and socioeconomic impasse. This is the result both of the activity of the governments of the "socialist past" and the clumsy experiments of the government of the "democratic present."

The peculiarity of the period in which we are living is that political disintegration has coincided with the disruption of economic ties throughout the territory of the former Union, and this has made each of its parts, which are now sovereign entities, largely ungovernable and unpredictable. This fully applies also to Russia.

At the same time, politicians, carried away with the idea of razing the totalitarian past to the ground, have failed to notice in good time the deep cracks which have appeared on the edifice of the present, which is now threatening to bury under its ruins both the wreckers and also anyone else within reach.

You have to be naive to believe that the collapse of the Soviet Union would not entail a corresponding reaction within Russia itself and also within the other republics which are now sovereign states belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. The process can only be halted by their joint extrication from the political and socioeconomic impasse which affects them all. And that means bringing about an economic rebirth which does not yet exist in our country, not even in its embryonic state.

Instead of practical actions we are getting theoretical treatises from individual leaders of the Russian Government who in their time earned their candidate and doctor titles for propagandizing the theory of developed socialism. These people today primarily criticize the past without yet having done anything for either the present or the future.

I believe that President Yeltsin of Russia would do well, especially after what he saw in the Volga region, to remind the "reform team" of the postulates of his speech to the last Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies and to suggest to them that they take another look at the main provisions of his election program.

Many people may regard what I have just said as tactless on my part, but it is necessary to go as far as taking these steps, since the president's entourage is trying to protect Boris Nikolayevich not only from communicating with the people and parliament, but also with the vice president.

The crisis situation, which has been exacerbated in connection with price liberalization, will not be tolerated in silence by the people for long. Tired of deception and rapidly losing faith in the Russian central authorities, people are trying and will continue to try to find their own way of survival in the establishment of all manner of parochial entities and mini-states. Instead of the consistent implementation of one of the main election slogans—"Rebirth of Russia"—the right of nations to self-determination as states is beginning to assert itself, and some people would even like to see it enshrined in the new Russian Constitution. More than 130 nations and ethnic groups live on Russia's territory, so that if this right is implemented in practice, we may end up with more than 100 "banana republics." And some of the "fathers of the new Russian democracy" are frankly stating that this is Russia's historical destiny.

I would like to recall the words of the well-known Russian political scientist and philosopher I.A. Ilin: "Any contemporary Russian politician, no matter what age group he belongs to or what country he finds himself in, should consider thoroughly the tragic experience of Russia's collapse and then turn to history. He should scan mankind's history for all the vital and healthy principles of any statehood, the fundamental axioms of law and of state health, and trace their development and fate in Russia's history.

"The fate of the Russian state will then be revealed to him—the sources of its strength (what kept Russia going and made it grow stronger?), its progress toward becoming a great power (the growth of Russia despite all difficulties and obstacles!) and the causes of its periodic downfalls (waning of the sense of statehood and capacity for sacrifice). Let him then take a thorough look at

Russia's present condition and try to imagine its FUTURE OUTLINES. And then, let him state publicly what he sees."

It seems to me that the people will help such a political leader to insure against the fatal formula according to which "there will be no Russia, merely a multitude of sovereign states within the framework of its former territory."

The impoverishment of the population has now taken on catastrophic dimensions. According to the latest figures following the price liberalization, more than 130 million Russian people now live below the poverty line. This is putting it simplistically insofar as a level 342 rubles would be more appropriately described as extinction level rather than survival level. And when people try to persuade us that all we have to do is to wait a little longer and the West will feed and clothe us, we would have to be naive to believe that Western food and clothing will be sold at accessible prices and that this will be a stable and long-term solution.

What is happening to us, to the Russia of the 90's, is nothing but the tragic history of a great country, a mutilated and much cursed history, but nonetheless a great history. In my opinion, and this applies also to the top echelons of Russian state power, it is necessary for people to finally politically define their position on where commitment to the principle of nations' self-determination as states ends and total disintegration begins.

I have to say again that we have come exceptionally close to this. Calls to establish borders with the status of state borders within Russia, introduce republic citizenship within the Russian Federation, and adopt local constitutions which would supersede Russia's Constitution are pouring oil onto the flames.

You get the impression that nothing may now be able to halt a "presidential flood"; that following the breakup of the once united army, not just republic armies but also oblast, city, and village armies may emerge,. But in that case we may come up against an "iron flood" [reference to 1924 novel of the same name by Aleksandr Serafimovich describing how an elemental movement of disorganized masses of oppressed humanity is turned into a disciplined fighting force by a heroic Bolshevik leader], which will cause the mingling of Russian soil with blood and destruction.

Will we, a great power, Russia, which was famed through the ages for its invincible army, where honor and dignity were held in high esteem and where the motherland was sacrosanct—will we really reduce this army to poverty and arbitrariness? Today we have hundreds of thousands of homeless, hapless people in military uniform, along with the members of their families, scattered across the country without hope for a better future. When, at what time in the history of Russia, has it been permissible to insult and humiliate an officer?

Let me remind all the "dividers" of Russia into "banana republics" that Russians and Bashkirs, Udmurts and Karelians, Yakuts and Chukchis, Kalmyks and Jews, Chechens and Ossetians were united in the Russian Army for centuries. Let us take a closer look at who and what is dividing us during this "time of troubles" described as "the new democracy." Can we really no longer live together on Russian soil? Were its soldiers ever buried in separate graves on the fields of battle for the glory of Russia and the Fatherland?

We must not allow anyone to destroy with one blow the memory which is the link between the past and the present, to claim that everything is beginning from scratch today, that Russia's history has no meaning. We must be fully aware that the destruction of Russian statehood may become the prologue of an even more terrible destruction. It would be naive to believe that in conditions of petty statehood and the degradation of statehood it will be possible to guarantee human rights and contain people's desire to realize their ideas by means of arms rather than culture.

I am not advocating a rebirth of the Soviet Union. The creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States is clearly the best solution in the prevailing situation. However, I have to say that this solution was sought in haste and has not been thought through to the end. This is why a trail of half-baked agreements has come out of the Belovezhskaya Forest, and there is no clear vision of its working mechanism or development prospects.

They try to comfort us with the words that "the process is under way"—as M.S. Gorbachev was fond of saying. However, the conflict surrounding the armed forces and the "blizzard of coupons" above the single (?) economic area are providing much food for thought.

I am convinced that the Commonwealth should be viewed more as a transitional form from the USSR to a new statehood for its former constituent republics, which latter will ultimately arrive at the need for really coordinating organs and the joint defense of sovereignty and territorial integrity; and at cooperation as a way of survival and development.

In my opinion, politicians should remember that instability in the sphere of statehood entails not only economic problems but also a social and psychological instability which is fraught with unpredictable consequences.

So is there a solution? Evidently there is. Above all it is necessary to understand clearly that "Russia is a single indivisible whole." This principle must be fully reflected in Russia's new Constitution.

The process of the incipient disintegration of Russia proper can and must be halted constitutionally. And here the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and the Congress of People's Deputies have a great role to play. The longer we delay the definition of Russian statehood and the adoption of the new Constitution, the sooner we will get what our enemies have always striven for—the end of the Russian state. By adopting the wrong decision we will definitely place the country in a state of permanent instability.

History tends to repeat itself. We must not allow the history of the Soviet Union to repeat itself within the framework of Russia.

From the Editorial Office

The political scandal in Russia's leadership is currently at the focus of public attention. In broad terms, the struggle for power, the struggle for political influence is entirely natural and normal. Provided, however, that the specific rules of the "game" are observed, that the laws of the genre are respected. Our political scene, unfortunately, is totally different. It is saturated with subjectivism and depends at times not on common sense but on personal sympathies and antipathies, on the clash of ambitions and vanities, on a single word which may have slipped out accidentally...

This is why the success of reforms which is based solely on confidence in a specific political leader is so shaky and unstable. People are not tired of politics (after all, it is part of our lives), they are tired of the unpredictability and vagueness of the politicians themselves.

What is totally incomprehensible is a situation whereby a vice president is forced to communicate with the president via a newspaper, when parliament and government insist on carving out spheres of influence for themselves and invite the public to arbitrate their quarrel, while the leaders meanwhile beseech the people to trust them and be patient...

Khasbulatov Warns Against 'Dictatorship'

LD1601140292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—The Russian Government's current policy is leading to bankruptcy, Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet, believes. "We should not wait until the government becomes bankrupt," he stressed today in an interview with the newspaper MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, "because then the population will stop believing in reform and the danger of 'a strong man' appearing, which many sociologists and political scientists are talking of, may become a reality. And we are determined not to permit this government policy becoming the basis for the appearance of dictatorship."

Ruslan Khasbulatov noted that he was not posing the question in such a way that the government must resign immediately. "What I was saying," he said, "is that parliament is entitled to pose the question of the replacement of the government to the president or to raise this issue independently."

Let us recall that on 13 January the head of the Russian parliament sharply criticized the republican government's reform program. In his view, instead of the announced liberalization of prices, what is taking place is an "anarchic, uncontrolled rise," while the government's promise to control prices for the main kinds of food is not being fulfilled. Khasbulatov also regards the government's actions in the sphere of privatization and tax policy to be incorrect, warning that they may lead to a complete withering away of incentives for enterprise.

Burbulis, Gaydar Meet Journalists, Economists

LD1801140692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1228 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan (TASS)—According to Gennadiy Burbulis, state secretary and first vice prime minister of the Russian Government, the aim of the meeting that took place at the Central House of Journalists today was to exchange opinions, approaches, and positions regarding the problem of the country's social and economic development. The meeting was organized at the initiative of Mikhail Poltoranin, Russian minister of press and information, and actively supported by the Russian "Ostankino" State Television and Radio Company. Yegor Gaydar, vice prime minister of the Russian Government, famous economists, journalists, and columnists took part.

In his introduction Gennadiy Burbulis set out the government's point of view regarding the processes taking shape in the country, the major problems, and ways of resolving them. In this connection he expressed the desire of the members of the Russian leadership to establish a regular exchange of opinions with "colleagues and comrades-in-arms," and with those who took part in preparing present reforms and who are interested in implementing them.

Gaydar Interviewed on Privatization, Trade

LD1901171592 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 19 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo January 19 TASS—"The present Russian Government will be replaced by a new one in case the reform programme fails, but the new government might not be democratic at all", Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar said in an interview to the Japanese newspaper TOKYO SHIMBUN published on Sunday [19 January].

"We are being criticised for having introduced free prices first, without privatisation,—Gaydar said—but we believe privatisation is senseless without free trade. Besides, privatisation can not be carried out within several months..."

According to Gaydar, free prices will stabilize the finances which is a necessary condition for privatisation. The success of the reform, which aims at overcoming the crisis, depends on curbing inflation, he said.

Liberalisation of foreign trade will fill the market with goods, necessary both for consumers and for manufacturers, Gaydar said. Imports will diminish price rises, Gaydar said.

According to Gaydar, decline in production, unemployment, prevention of social outburst are the government's top problems to be solved. Unemployment may provoke serious social unrest, he said.

If economic reform does succeed, Russians will live in a democratic, free and civilised society, Gaydar said.

Trade Unions Conduct Collective Protest Actions

LD1701223392 Moscow TASS in English 2119 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Russian trade unions today conducted collective actions across the Russian Federation—from Kaliningrad to Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk.

A total of 111 cables had been received by 2000 Moscow time at the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions' headquarters from various regions of the republic to support the federation's demands to the government.

The demands include the unreserved observance of the previously proclaimed minimum of social guarantees for residents of Russia and immediate correction of mistakes made during the liberalization of prices.

Almost everywhere labour collectives refused from strikes [as received], choosing such forms of protest as rallies, manifestations and picketing of government buildings. Only Tula has reported a one-hour strike of bus drivers.

Even in Kuzbass, where the situation is explosive, trade unions limited themselves to rallies. Meetings between miners and trade union leaders and managers resulted in resolutions, demanding that the Russian Government immediately begin negotiations with the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions to elaborate efficient measures of social protection from negative consequences of the market.

However, the pre-strike situation remains in Kuzbass: Miners, physicians, goldminers, street car and trolleys drivers, and representatives of other professions have declared their readiness for the most decisive actions if their immediate demands are not satisfied.

Protests 'Quite Peaceful'

OW1801000692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2141 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An appeal by the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions (RFITU) to hold a mass disobedience action on January 17 has produced some response around the country, however, there were practically no large-scale protests. Even in the explosive area of Kuzbass, miners limited themselves to quite peaceful methods. In Prokopievysk and Pilov, for example, they held brief rallies and passed resolutions calling on the Russian authorities to sit down at the negotiating table with the RFITU and to work out emergency measures to create social safety nets for the population in the market conditions. The miners also demanded that President Yeltsin meet a delegation of Kuzbass labour staffs.

Teachers in the city of Poronaysk on Sakhalin Island picketed the trade department of the regional executive committee demanding that prices be cut down for breakfast and lunch meals in school canteens. Currently the prices reach 10-12 rubles.

In Kemerovo, Penza, Yekaterinburg, Smolensk, Pskov and other regions of central Russia, meetings were also held to demand that the authorities at all levels make good on the promise of providing minimum social guarantees and immediately correct mistakes made during price liberalization.

Khabarovsk Refuses To Strike

LD1701154492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Igor Klochkov, chairman of the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions, announced that mass protest actions, meetings, and demonstrations are to begin throughout the republic today. These will even include warning strikes in a number of places.

According to Klochkov this is the population's response to the uncontrolled liberalization of prices. The Federation of Independent Trade Unions, he said in an interview for the RIA agency, does not oppose the Russian leadership's reforms, but it does not agree with the methods of their implementation.

However, Khabarovsk Kray has decided not to hold mass protest actions. The decision was adopted by the Council of Chairmen of the Kray and Sector Trade Union Committees. It recommended that strike committees should not be formed in the kray and that strikes should not be held since the situation in the kray's economy is complicated enough already. Teachers in the Kavalerovskiy Rayon in the Maritime Kray also have refused to strike.

Leader Warns of Spring Strikes

LD2001160992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] If the Russian Government does not introduce amendments to its economic policies, especially in the area of price liberalization, then a general protest strike could begin in the spring. Igor Klochkov, chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, made this warning in an interview for the Japanese newspaper NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN. Price liberalization, he said, is a necessary step in the process of transition to the market. However, serious doubts exist regarding the methods for implementing liberalization, from which many people have suffered. Klochkov confirmed that protests are planned for 17 January against the government's economic policy, which will take place in various regions of Russia.

Checks Implemented as 'Financial Experiment'

LD1901152292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] We are going through a very difficult period. Society is again on the verge of a social explosion. The first and most difficult period of implementing the reforms is under way. Nobody expected that this would be a simple thing to carry out, but it is hampered even more by the different views leaders of the sovereign republics hold on the ways of implementing the reforms. The introduction of coupons—in other words, in reality, a parallel currency—in contiguous independent states has not only buried the idea of a single ruble space, but also creates a threat of a ruble expansion by, in the first place, the Ukraine. Russia has begun implementing one of its protective measures in Severodvinsk.

[Correspondent Valentin Bogomolov] The inhabitants of Severodvinsk have been worried today, 19 January, by sensational news. The town has been picked for a financial experiment. One of the leaders of the Russian State Bank, Rasskazov, revealed the news about the experiment yesterday at the first conference of industrialists of the north. According to him, Russia has decided to establish a specific financial barrier in response to the ruble expansion unleashed by neighboring sovereign states, including the Ukraine. We will introduce a system of checks [cheki]. Throughout the civilized world, you hand over checks when you buy goods, though it must be said that other countries register checks electronically. In our case, the check will have to be filled in.

And that, says Rasskazov, is why Severodvinsk, which has a large percentage of educated specialists who can properly fill in these checks, has been picked for this. The second reason for such a choice is that Russia has simply not managed to print the 80 million checks that are needed. It has at present only 7 million in store, according to Rasskasov.

Valentin Bogomolov, specially for the news service of Radio Rossii.

Adviser Interviewed on Ruble, Budget Deficit

LD1801124192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan (TASS)—In an interview today in the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper Aleksey Ulyukayev, an economic adviser to the Russian Government, states that Russia does not "in the foreseeable future" intend to introduce a new currency to replace the rubles of the old Soviet Union.

"Our general idea is to improve the condition of the existing ruble and to strengthen it," he emphasized. "The government is doing everything necessary to leave the introduction of a national currency as an extreme measure. Of course we have to be prepared for it, and we are indeed making preparations, but I repeat, we are taking actions to prevent it."

In connection with the danger of "intervention" of rubles from neighboring states, particularly from the Ukraine, which has already introduced its own semicurrency in the shape of special coupons to purchase goods, Aleksey Ulyukayev said: "In response to such actions by the Ukrainian side, the Russian Government will have to review its policy on issuing money. Russia (the issuing center on the territory of the Commonwealth of Independent States is under the control of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation) will be compelled to limit the amount of cash supplied to the Ukraine, so that funds held in accounts at Ukrainian savings banks do not get turned into cash and flow to us."

"Recently," Ulyukayev went on, "the Russian leadership imposed restrictions on the export of many goods beyond Russia's borders. This also prevents money from being forced out of the neighboring states. In general, the danger that money will be pumped across, and that prices will rise as a result, does exist, but it should be borne in mind that the main inflationary factor is the state of the budget. A deficit-free budget is a priority for us; it is a way of stabilizing prices through the market, not through instructions."

The government intends to eliminate the huge budget deficit by reducing spending in three areas: subsidies to producers; military needs, and above all procurement of armaments and military organizational development; and a reduction of more than 50 percent in state investment programs. Aside from that, it is intended to achieve a balanced budget through the present tax policy. "Throughout the world," the Russian Government adviser noted, "people do not like paying high taxes. But of the two evils—hyperinflation and high taxes—one has to choose the lesser. After a stabilization of the circulation of money is achieved the government will be willing to reduce profits tax and VAT [value added tax]. That is a firm intention."

"According to our forecasts," Ulyukayev said, "before March monthly inflation could stand at 100 percent. Then, with the onset of summer, the rate of price increases will begin to decline—to less than 10 percent. The policy of a deficit-free budget and restrictions on the amount of money in circulation will produce results."

Coordination Group To Eliminate Nuclear Arms

OW1701234392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian government decided to establish a coordinating group to work out, within a month's time, and submit a comprehensive program to eliminate nuclear arms. The group is led by the Russian Academy of Sciences vice president Yevgeniy Velikhov. The group includes Deputy Minister for Atomic Energy and Industry V. Mikhailov, S. Zelentsov, chief engineer of the 12th chief department of the Defense Ministry, V. Mashits, chairman of the Russian Federation's state committee for economic cooperation with the commonwealth members, and F. Shelov-Kovedayev, first Russian deputy foreign minister.

The Russian government also supported a proposal of the republican academy of sciences to establish an International Agency for the Liquidation of Nuclear Arms. The coordinating group was instructed to hold talks with the U.S. and other interested parties to set up such an agency.

Supreme Soviet

Further on 16 Jan Supreme Soviet Session

Burbulis Addresses Parliament

LD1701171492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1930 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Speech by First Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis at the Russian Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 16 January—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues, before giving a description of the liberalization of prices which has taken place I would like first to dwell briefly on the atmosphere which is being created in the press and in parliament around the discussion of this issue. I was more than shocked by the statement read today by [Deputy] Shakhray which said in black and white that criticism of the president is undemocratic in a democracy.

What are we doing? Are we receiving a new ideal? What are we doing? Are we again forgetting the principle of not setting up an idol for ourselves and worshipping it? Yes, I have supported Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin but this does not mean that I have supported him unconditionally. I reserve the right for myself and for each deputy to criticize him, to analyze his mistakes, and to put forward my proposals.

A long interview with your most humble servant was to have appeared in one of the central newspapers today in which I criticize the president quite seriously and specifically. This interview did not appear because at the meeting of the editorial board they saw the criticism of Yeltsin and said that Yeltsin must not be criticized under any circumstances. Will the mass media pursue a communist policy, just like the one we have already had? How much will we talk about this? I reject...

[Khasbulatov interrupts] Mikhail, calm down, because [words indistinct].

[Burbulis] Thank you, Ruslan Imranovich. About the matter in hand. I am firmly convinced that we have taken a step not toward the market but have taken 10 steps away from the market. The liberalization of prices without preliminary privatization and without a strict antimonopoly line is a step away from the market. It is plundering the people beyond belief.

Let me explain a little why I think this a step away from the market. Forgive me if I say something trite, but evidently not all members of the government understand this: In the conditions of private trade, a trader who gains great advantage takes a risk and the risk is payment for great advantage. In the conditions of state trade there is immense trade—especially now when on the whole everyone can set the prices—there is no risk. And therefore the mafia trade which is absorbed in an atmosphere of enrichment beyond belief is doing everything possible in order for there not to be any privatization. Our history is not teaching us anything. Again, an administrative raising of prices has taken place.

What do we need to do? Immediate integration with the Western economy. The filling of shop shelves through the inflow of Western capital and Western goods. And I will also say something trite, but I cannot carry it through, to my immense great sorrow, through our government: filling the shelves with Western goods needs to be done not through credits and not through resources but through secondary raw materials, scrap metal, scrap waterlogged timber [toplyak], and ore production dumps. Western firms were standing at our doors and asking for licenses. In exchange they were willing to swamp the shelves with goods. Those licenses are not available: Our government is not providing them.

I consider that we must not indulge in euphoria simply because the government has at last begun the transition to the market. We must very, very critically weigh the whole situation. We are responsible to the people whom we may lead to disaster, and there must always be a critical situation in our parliament—a critical atmosphere; and I would advise the government to listen seriously to the criticism, and I would advise our deputies to start analyzing the work of the government.

I am ready to formulate the government's main positions on the results of today's discussion, and I believe the main result to be the fact that we have determined in a more precise way the character of joint activity, the character of interaction. Three areas can be singled out in which we are prepared to implement this interaction on a day-to-day basis. The first is the joint drafting of norms linked to the legal support for progress of reforms which is non-traditional in rhythm, pace and forms. I think that it is precisely in this area that today we have sufficient examples of coordinated, fundamental, and competent joint work.

The second area is increasingly closely linked analytical and diagnostic work. Our meeting yesterday at Ruslan Imranovich's [Khasbulatov] office of government deputies and of Supreme Soviet deputies confirms that there are reserves here. The third area is strengthening and, in a certain sense, altering the monitoring function of the deputies' activity, the same constitutional monitoring function which both the government and the entire population need first and foremost today. We have discovered that there is a good deal of reserves here. I think that the results of today's analysis and discussion could be prepared jointly in the near future, next week, and the above-mentioned monitoring function of deputies could be somehow modified. I see that today it consists not only in continuously supervising the legality of government activity but also in promoting the implementation of our joint decisions in the vertical dimension in localities and at enterprises. I am in favor of mobilizing the entire corps of deputies of soviets of all levels for continuous participation in this joint work of ours.

Finally, agreeing with criticism of named ministers or government officials, I am informing esteemed deputies that we have set up an analytical body, a special commission which is working 24 hours a day in conjunction with the commission headed by Vladimir Filippovich. In connection with this I would ask you to address those appreciations, ideas and inner wrath which fill us daily in the course of reforms primarily to that control commission of experts.

The next conclusion: An analysis has shown that there are three main immutable directions of our common reform program. The first one is more clear-cut and strict anti-monopoly activity both at the levels of law and practical implementation.

The second one is providing targeted incentives for all live, creative forms of economic activity. It is maximum support at the level of laws and within the framework of our tax and budget policy, enterprise and any active forms of management. The third thing is the no less targeted social protection of specific sections and spheres of the population. We understand perfectly well that for some people reform is a test of whether they will be able to continue managing the same way they did yesterday; for others it is a call for natural economic creativity; and for others it is a burden of daily self-education. It turns out that any attempt to either exaggerate or belittle the importance of these three areas in reform doom us to considerable difficulties in its progress. Finally, the last point. We are prepared for any and all sorts of criticism, the more so for the criticism which ends with a constructive proposal. But it seems to me that already now it is fairly clear that if we disagree on the degree of the assessment of our economic situation and disagree on the selection of basic methods [bazovyye sredstva], then this is no longer criticism—it is simply the non-acceptance of the general program and in this sense there are other methods of political opposition to this task.

There have been very serious proposals, including on the drafting of our taxation policy. Routine analysis already shows that they are in many respects justified regarding first of all the monopoly structures of production and distribution. The Cabinet is prepared in the next two to three days, jointly with the committees of the Supreme Soviet, to submit proposals in order to make it possible to jointly and substantially rectify something.

The problem was raised very seriously by Deputy Baburin as to whether the president has a state policy in matters of defense and as to what is being done in order to ensure the preservation of unified armed forces on the territory of the former USSR. With interest and with difficulty [s interesom i s trudom] we succeeded in agreeing with the armed forces leadership on a military budget, its main principles for 1992 and the main indices for the first quarter of the year.

I testify that the principle which was mutually worked out in this respect consists of the following: First, we do not have the right with all the temptations of an accelerated conversion, to regard it as an unrestrained elimination of very high technologies developed among others in the sectors of the defense industry. What is needed here is the appropriate long-term view and what is necessary is a cautious policy aimed at preservation.

Second, we do not have the right to maintain the appetites which were shaped over decades regarding orders for military equipment and satisfying them without restriction. Therefore the decision has been made and this has been implemented in the budget—proposals have accordingly been submitted to the Supreme Soviet—on the average to reduce by 30 percent expenditures on armaments for the Russian Federation as a whole, having envisaged the redistribution of these resources for social issues and for the conversion matters of those collectives which are being deprived of these amounts.

The third point: we have confirmed the position of the Russian Federation's leadership on providing financial support for all the armed forces active on the former USSR's territory. There are certain nuances with Ukraine in connection with this but we hope that already today, let alone tomorrow, they will be substantially corrected. I am conveying the apologies of Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin], who asked me to tell you that he is absent because heads of states gathered urgently in Moscow today, and on the eve of the All-Army Officers' Assembly due to be held 17 January, a fundamental discussion is currently under way on the situation which has been heatedly debated by the population, the media, and political figures over the last three weeks.

What future is there for the armed forces, and will the principles adopted in Minsk and Alma-Ata be observed? The Russian Federation's position has not changed in this respect. It is as follows: We will strive to preserve united armed forces primarily in the sphere of strategic armaments, and the state delegation formed by joint decision of the president and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, which has already started routine work and made its first trip to Kiev on 11 January, shows that in addition to all our positions on the Commonwealth of Independent States, we have found a very efficient bilateral solution to this problem. We have seen that a dialogue between Russia and a specific Commonwealth state, primarily in the sphere of defense issues and mutual economic and military cooperation, is a basis for ensuring that decisions adopted within the framework of Commonwealth be carried out.

Among its plans the state delegation has work to do with the Baltic states; through a multilateral dialogue it will specify a civilized manner in which it is possible today to implement the purposes set forth by heads of the Baltic states regarding our contingents over there. On the whole, we can see that the Russian Federation's position is being supported by many Commonwealth member-states and by the absolute majority of the leadership of the Union Armed Forces.

Tomorrow's [17 January] meeting will show the extent to which it is supported by the armed forces corps of officers. Our task consists not only in obtaining assurances to the effect that control of the armed forces must be preserved and responsibility for the social position of servicemen and their families should be shared but also in making these obligations executable. Today we see serious changes in this issue in the positions of such independent states as Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and possibly Moldova. I absolutely agree with those deputies who voiced certain dissatisfaction with the possibility of constant interaction between the government and various political, public, and trade union organizations.

Given all the, perhaps, complexity of these tasks—reconciliation, procedural, operational—I must announce the decision of Boris Nikolayevich to the effect that, in addition to those instructions and undertakings which the government has given, beginning today I personally have been charged with implementing ensuring and running this process, having in mind also some personal, individual experience here both in setting up various parties and in communicating with them within the framework of my previous activity as a deputy.

In this connection I promise that we categorically rule out the possibility in similar analyses in the future of remarks to this effect. It is not good for us to engender in our own environment—which in many respects has secured the right to carry out reform on Russia's territory together with our actions in the course of the one and one half years—among ourselves such inappropriate discord and contradiction.

Finally, the last conclusion. It consists in this that—let us stop somehow or otherwise sympathize with the government that in its cabinet there are insufficient strong, practical workers. With thanks and pleasure we will accept serious and irreplaceable proposals regarding candidacies and we are prepared to share our concerns and our responsibility with those who take this up. But please bear in mind that those very many who eagerly talk of reform, when asked to take charge of something specific, decline for various reasons.

I thank the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, I thank the deputies for the fact that as a whole we have succeeded in retaining a constructive intonation in our conversations. I ask all those who so far refuse to recognize that the government's strategic tasks and fundamental solutions are well-founded.

We are ready: Let us meet with you at the end of January and once again, perhaps with more time at our disposal, demonstrate and prove that we are forced to act in such a way and that it is not our whim to begin price liberalization. We are not to blame that for the time there still are not any prices at all. There are only tags on goods, and this is nothing other than an attempt to form price interrelations within the framework of our distorted economy.

We are not to blame that we were unable to begin with the classical scheme: demonopolization, privatization and all prerequistes connected with this. We are working in the regime we ave enherited, having received only one right: to jointly implement this program as painlessly as possible for the majority of the population which cannot directly take part in it.

I once again thank the entire Cabinet for today's analysis. I think we increasingly have the right to say that in the days and months ahead we will achieve professional cooperation, agreement between the nationalities, and civic-political solidarity that will enable irreversible reforms, and that the Russians will support them in a more fully conscious way.

Constititional Court Decision Debated

LD1701204392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2139 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Discussion by Valeriy Dmitriyevich Zorkin, chairman of the Constitutional Court; Ruslan Khasbulatov, Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chairman; and Russian presidential adviser Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray on the subject of the Constitutional Court's decision on Decree No. 289 on the amalgamation of security ministries, held at the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 16 January; from the "At the Russian Supreme Soviet Session" program—recorded]

[Text] [Khasbulatov] The floor is now given to Valeriy Dmitriyevich Zorkin, chairman of the Constitutional Court.

[Zorkin] Esteemed chairman, esteemed people's deputies: I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak. My request was motivated by the following: The Constitutional Court held a meeting this morning. It examined certain commentaries in the official media on a Constitutional Court decision with which you are familiar—on Decree No. 289. As you know, the law on the Russian Constitutional Court stipulates that decisions by the Constitutional Court are binding. They come into force immediately after their proclamation. There is no appeal against them.

In this connection, the Court is very concerned about three commentaries on this subject. One appeared in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. Another was broadcast in yesterday's 2000 "Vesti" newscast on Russian television. The third, which quoted Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, the president's political adviser, was broadcast several times on Radio Liberty.

I will quote the commentary in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. The paper noted that the Constitutional Court had made a decision and that such decisions are binding. Nevertheless, the commentary goes on, according to Sergey Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Russian Government, who represented President Yeltsin at the hearing, this does not mean that the decree has ceased to be effective. The second point is this: He expressed regret that, contrary to expectations, the Constitutional Court had issued what he regarded as a political decision rather than a legal one.

I have to say that, in light of these two pronouncements, the Court is obliged to study this question. If an official rebuttal does not appear in all the media outlets that carried this report, we will be compelled to institute proceedings to establish whether the actions of top-ranking public servants in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [as heard] are constitutional or not [applause] in accordance with impeachment procedures. In other words, this means that such a decision is binding.

Thank you for your attention.

[Khasbulatov] That information should give some food for thought. I merely wish to inform you that I saw the president off on his flight to St. Petersburg yesterday morning [15 January]. That was when we learned about the Constitutional Court's decision. It should be pointed out that the president reacted with understanding and calm to the decision. He said that we set up this democratic system in our country. The President's reaction was one of respect. He unequivocally stated that this decision should be followed.

Go ahead at microphone No. 3, please.

[Shakhray] Esteemed chairman, esteemed people's deputies: I would like to give you some information and, in the process, let you know my official position and the president's viewpoint, as officially conveyed to all the media. I will have to read the text, because there are grounds for saying that inaccurate sources of information are being used.

On 14 January the Constitutional Court pronounced the president's decree—I will not bother to read its title—null and void from the moment of its adoption. The president of the Russian Federation and the government of the Russian Federation will unquestionably take every step envisaged in the legislation of the Russian Federation as regards implementation of the decision issued by the Russian Federation's Constitutional Court. Unfortunately, political and ideological motives have had more decisive influence on the court's final decision than a legal evaluation of the enactments under study and their conformity with the Constitution. [grumbling, murmurs of dissent from floor]

In this connection it should be noted that the entire experience of economic and administrative reform in Russia demonstrates the president's desire to enhance the liberty of citizens. This shows that there are no grounds whatsoever for suspecting that he wishes to overturn democratic processes. Democracy is threatened to a far greater extent by increasing tendencies to mount opposition to a president who has been elected by the people, to mount opposition to the government.

The task facing the Constitutional Court is a complex one, not just because of certain historical aspects of the problem dealt with in the decree, but also because of imperfections in the existing Constitution which make it possible to interpret constitutional principles in different ways, depending on your political viewpoint. Therefore, in order to improve the legal foundation for the work of supreme legislative, judicial, and executive authorities, it is essential to speed up the adoption of the Russian Federation's new constitution.

In other words, the Constitutional Court's decision is recognized in full. A guarantee is given that it will be followed. Furthermore, today I ran my eye over a presidential decree recognizing that the amalgamation decree is no longer valid. I also endorsed the decree appointing the minister of internal affairs, the decree appointing the director general of the Federal Security Agency, and a number of other documents. I think this information could have been checked over the telephone before such authoritative statements were issued.

As far as the arguments are concerned, the Constitutional Court's decision has been officially circulated. Nevertheless, the decision violates the principle of separation of powers and the principle of demarcation of powers. The first of these has, unfortunately—very unfortunately—still not been incorporated in the Constitution. The second is specifically excluded by the existing Constitution. I would hope that in future information would be verified and authenticated before very authoritative political statements are issued.

[Khasbulatov] I think that situations may arise where the Constitutional Court revokes one of our decisions. This will be unpleasant for me personally, but the powers of the Constitutional Court must be respected. After all, we ourselves—and the congress—vested it with these powers. What is the point of arguing? The rulings of the Constitutional Court must be complied with [applause] whether they concern the government, the president, or the Supreme Soviet. [applause]

Supreme Soviet Holds Session 17 Jan

Proceedings Detailed

LD1701221492

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1918 GMT on 17 January carries the 29-minute "At the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session" program, with recorded highlights of proceedings at the 17 January session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow.

The meeting is opened by Filatov, who invites Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev to report on the ratification of the treaty between Russia and Lithuania. Kozyrev appears at the rostrum and gives a seven-minute address.

At 1927 GMT, Filatov hands the floor to Granberg, the chairman of the committee on interrepublic relations. In his 14-minute address Granberg talks about the differences between the present treaty with Lithuania and the previous one. He reports on meetings with Landsbergis. Most importantly, he says, contacts were continued with the Russian-speaking population in Lithuania, especially Russian deputies. Most points in the treaty are already operative. A large number of agreements are under preparation. An agreement on the development of Kaliningrad has already been drawn up, which gives Russia free access to the enclave. Granberg adds that this provides for joint use of the Baltic, cultural cooperation etc. Going on, Granberg notes that principles for trade cooperation have already been drawn up. Trade between the two Republics has started. World market prices are being used and settlements are being made on a clearing basis. Trade has been almost balanced. Agreement has been reached on evacuation of citizens from Mazeikiai. There are quite a few other problems which need to be settled, he notes,including citizenship and human rights. A Lithuanian citizenship law was adopted in 1990. This has been extended. Choice of citizenship can be defined in additional agreements. The problem is how to define a permanent resident. It is the job of a special commission to look into this, he says.

Granberg goes on to note that the treaty does have shortcomings: Military issues were bypassed and the treaty was signed in a different political situation, when the USSR still existed. These must be settled as soon as possible. Russia has formed a delegation to sort out these questions. It will meet a delegation from the Baltic states. It has already met the Ukrainians. Intransigent demands for immediate withdrawal are unacceptable. The withdrawal must be effected over a longer period. It will cost over R10 billion. Another question is the construction of housing in Russia by the Lithuanians, he states.

Turning to economic relations, Granberg talks about trade. World prices are to be followed - though this was not spelled out in the treaty. On 15 December the Russian Government decided that relations with the Baltic Republics would be interstate relations. This applies to customs and other questions. There are other questions connected with energy supplies and other matters. Our press is very keen to publish the Balts' attitude towards Russia, says—it reports less on Russia's attitude toward the Baltics. The agreement on Kaliningrad Oblast stipulates the need for transit rights, access, and related matters.

The Lithuanian leadership intends to introduce its own currency. This will throw up extra questions, concerning the convertibility of the ruble and the lita, the Lithuanian currency. The main achievement of Russian-Lithuanian diplomacy has been the establishment of a trusting relationship with representatives of the Russian speakers there, including Russian deputies in Parliament. In conclusion, Granberg reads an appeal from Lithuanian deputies of Russian origin, who call for the ratification of the treaty.

At 1941 GMT, an unidentified deputy talks about her visit to Lithuania, saying it was a totally satisfactory visit. The treaty must be ratified. She is happy with the approach to citizenship matters. Russian speakers want the treaty adopted. But they also want to know how they can view Russian TV, she concludes.

At 1943 GMT, Granberg says this question was also discussed while the delegation was in Lithuania. The Russian channel will be seen in Lithuania. This was agreed during the visit.

Next, Deputy Ambartsumov joins the debate on ratification. There is natural concern about the future of Russians who suddenly find themselves abroad, he says, but the treaty should be ratified. After all, the treaty with Estonia has been ratified. Russians in Lithuania will be protected. Ambartsumov cites Vagnorius as saying there will be no provocation against Russian troops in Lithuania. Ambartsumov, who was a member of the commission, notes that the Russian Foreign Ministry came in for repeated criticism during the hearings. There ought to be a Russian mission, an embassy, in Lithuania as well as the other former Union Republics. This question needs an answer. After all our citizens there need somebody to represent them, he adds.

Filatov calls a vote and the treaty is ratified by 143 to 3.

Finally, the narrator says that the evening session adopted a law on the procuracy of the Russian Federation.

Kozyrev on Lithuanian Treaty

LD1801222892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1918 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Speech by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev at 17 January session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] [Filatov] The floor is given to Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, to speak about the ratification of the treaty on the bases of interstate relations between the Russian Federation and the Lithuanian Republic.

[Kozyrev] Today we are discussing another document which, I believe, symbolizes the strategy of the Russian leadership, the Government of the Russian Federation, and the parliament, which was approved by you in the declaration of state sovereignty of the Russian Federation, and in the subsequent documents which, I believe, are the pride of the Russian Federation and of Russia as a state.

It goes without saying that this strategy consisted of creating a democratic Russian state and ensuring favorable external conditions for it by concluding treaties and by goodneighborliness, primarily with the former republics of the Soviet Union. We have done everything to ensure that there should be a renewed alliance [soyuz]. Now everything is being done, and you know that yesterday the president had a meeting with the leaders of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] in order to consolidate the CIS.

This strategy includes a policy of goodneighborliness and trust with the nearby foreign states, but at the same time it implies strict defense—by legal means but not by force—of the interests and rights of the Russian Federation and its citizens in these nearby foreign countries. I would like to immediately point out that, in my opinion, calls for the return to strong-arm methods will not produce any success since, unfortunately, these strong-arm methods caused the collapse of the Soviet Union itself.

You have in front of you some data from the Foreign Ministry. It contains the conclusions of some of the committees, therefore I will not refer to the specific facts covered in our data, and I will touch only on some fundamental aspects in connection wih the treaty with Lithuania.

The treaty gives guarantees or, to be more precise, lays down legal guarantees for some of the vital interests of our republic, in particular of Kaliningrad Oblast, which is an inalienable part of the Russian Federation. We have done everything and we continue to do everything to ensure that no one should have any doubts about this. First of all, the treaty guarantees the borders. The treaty also guarantees the interests of the citizens and, moreover, in a more far-reaching and advanced way than the treaty with Estonia, which was ratified earlier. Finally, the treaty is called upon to create guarantees for economic interests, including those of Kaliningrad Oblast.

I must say that a few days ago I paid a visit to Kaliningrad Oblast. I had meetings there with a broad range of public representatives and the leadership of Kaliningrad, and I must say—and it will probably not be an exaggeration—to state that Kaliningrad Oblast has given me a mandate to ratify this treaty and to continue the strategy, which we here have elaborated, of using this treaty to expand our efforts to strengthen relations with Lithunia and to protect human rights.

I would like to stress that in this case, as in the case with Estonia, what we have here is the starting point—not the end of the process but only the starting point—for getting further efforts under way and developing them.

In this connection I would also like to take advantage of the opportunity and report to you about my short visit to Estonia which also took place two days ago. In Estonia, I had meetings with the whole leadership of this republic, starting from the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and including the foreign minister, and also with representatives of the Russian and Russian-speaking population—the whole range, from the most left-wing, to use our old terminology, to the most right-wing, also using the old terminology. I gained the impression that we are on the right track. In the first place, as I promised you, we conveyed to Estonia a package of four large, multi-page documents on the development of particular provisions which are in the Estonian treaty. Finally, we have obtained the instrument on which we can get down to work.

The reaction of official circles was, I would say, overall positive. There was no insistence on immediately beginning specific negotiations on all these issues, and I think that we will proceed on this basis and work on it.

During the meeting with the Russian inhabitants, with the Russian-speaking inhabitants, I did not hear a single complaint, not a single question about the ratification of this treaty and our policy. On the contrary, they expressed support and said that this is the only correct policy. I think that the same will apply to Lithuania, too. As soon as we receive the instruments of ratification—I hope and I am confident that this treaty will be ratified—we will be able to begin the same work, and this is stated in the information which you have been given.

I would also like to note, in connection with today's event [the Officers' Assembly] that we managed to include in the communique with Estonia a clear indication that questions connected with the Army will be resolved without haste, stage by stage, taking account the security interests of both sides, including the Russian Federation, and security as a whole, and also that the social interests and rights of servicemen will be rigorously taken into account and observed. Of course, it would be an exaggeration to say that all issues were eliminated during one visit, but the difficult road, the difficult work to smooth these relations, has begun and I think that we are under way and we shall continue it.

[Filatov] Microphone No. 2, please.

[Akunov] Deputy Akunov. My question is on the subject of servicemen. According to television and press reports, another conference of heads of the Baltic States was held recently, and once again they were insisting on the immediate withdrawal of the armed forces. You have just spoken soothing words that the issue has been resolved, but from the Baltics we hear more demanding words about withdrawal. How will this be resolved in the future? I would like to hear a representative of Lithuania say when they will cease talking about occupiers and about the immediate withdrawal of our Russian servicemen.

[Filatov] Andrey Ivanovich, please.

[Kozyrev] I would like to clarify that I did not say that the issue had been resolved. I said that we had begun work and that there are the first indications of some positive progress on this issue. But the issue is far from being resolved and there is a long and difficult road ahead.

As far as concerns the accord with Estonia, it consists of renouncing unilateral steps; and on the question of the Army I stress that during our visit we managed to eliminate the thesis of the immediate withdrawal of all troops. It is a matter of resolving this whole issue stage by stage on the basis that account should be taken—as I have already said and reported to you—on the basis that account should be taken of the security interests of both sides and of security as a whole in this region, which at least the major part of the former Soviet Army stationed there at present is called upon to ensure, and also taking account of the social interests of servicemen.

Procurator General on New Procuracy

LD1801110592

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1220 GMT on 17 January carries an eight-minute live or recorded interview with Valentin Stepankov, Russian procurator general, by correspondents Vladimir Kurnikov and Boris Morkovnikov, during the afternoon break of the Supreme Soviet Session in Moscow on 17 January.

Stepankov begins by talking about the post and significance of the procuracy which, he says, is 270 years old. The Soviet procuracy arose in 1922 and was based on principles developed by Lenin. During the Stalin period, he continues, changes were made which allowed it to be used as part of the repressing apparatus.

Stepankov says that the law, which was presented in its second reading today, is "a law developing the concept of judicial and legal reform. The procuracy is leaving behind the functions—which did not belong to it—of interfering in economic production activities and administration."

It will not be a control body of the executive authorities, he says. "The procuracy will only intervene when an infringement of the law can be eliminated only with the powers which the law is now giving to the procuracy." He notes that only the militia and the procuracy give free legal help to citizens and defend their rights. Last year the procuracy discovered the rights of more than 75,000 Russian citizens being infringed—illegal sackings, for example. More than 45 percent of court sentences and decisions on civil affairs which are repealed is due to the intervention of the procuracy.

Asked about the main difficulties the procuracy encounters and whether the new law will help, Stepankov says that the new law corresponds to the judicial and legal reforms which are now going on. The difficulties which the procuracy faces are ones that have always existed: the fight between the procuracy and local law-making. The Supreme Soviet has improved the lot of the procuracy by improving the material situation of its workers.

Asked whether an investigative committee, encompassing procuracy, militia and security investigators, will be created, Stepankov says he has always supported such a committee. However the Supreme Soviet is more cautious in its approach. A draft has been prepared on this and will be examined in the future.

Stepankov concludes by discussing corruption. He says the procuracy is the body which is investigating bribery and considers it an important matter. It must be prosecuted. In the course of a year the procuracy investigates less then 1,000 such cases.

Lithuania Treaty, Crimea Possession Debated

PM2001152992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Jan 92 pp 1-2

[Yevgeniy Sorokin and Aleksandr Shinkin report under the "In Russia's Parliament" rubric: "On the National Pride of Great Russians"]

[Text] Under the conditions of the USSR's disintegration and the formation of the Commonwealth the new term "nearest foreign parts" has appeared in Rus. This is a reference to the former republics of the Union, with which Russia is building relations along treaty lines. True, our fast-moving times are making corrections even to documents that were adopted only quite recently.

This is what happened yesterday with the Treaty on the Fundamentals of Interstate Relations Between the Russian Federation and the Lithuanian Republic, about which one deputy aptly remarked: It was concluded between union republics but is being ratified by independent states. Introducing it, Russian Federation Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev and A. Granberg, chairman of the Committee for Questions of Interrepublic Relations, Regional Policy, and Cooperation, said that the treaty fully accords with the interests of Russia and of the Russian-speaking population of Lithuania.

However, some deputies failed to perceive precisely this in the treaty. Touching on the Russian Foreign Ministry's stand in talks with both near and distant foreign parts, Deputy I. Andronov described it as not corresponding to the opinion of the public or of parliament. He even proposed conferring the title of honorary samurai on one of the Foreign Ministry leaders.

However, no one suggested any other way out under the present conditions, apart from ratifying the treaty.

The deputies decided not to discuss another international question for the time being. The thing is that they had been issued with the resolution of the Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations "On the Decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 19 February 1954 and the USSR Supreme Soviet of 26 April 1954 on the Removal of the Crimea from the RSFSR."

It turns out that this decision was adopted in violation of the laws both of the Union and of Russia. At the same time the universally recognized norms of international law were flouted. In this connection the committee proposed to the Russian Supreme Soviet that it declare the 1954 USSR Supreme Soviet decisions on the Crimea invalid and devoid of juridical force.

Let us recall that this problem was raised when the question of the ratification of Russia's treaty with the Ukraine and what were then Union republics was being decided. However, B. Yeltsin asked that this problem not be emphasized, because the Ukraine remained within the Union.

He mentioned at that time that, if the Ukraine declared its secession from the USSR, then it would be possible to demand the Crimea back.

This time has now arrived. Moreover, the leaders of the Ukraine, not having had time to reach agreement with the members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], are already going all out to violate the accords, aspiring to start with the Black Sea Fleet. We believe that under such conditions the parliamentary action must be viewed as what is called threatening with one's little finger. But this is what the deputies have decided to confine themselves to for the present. In accordance with V. Isakov's proposal, the question has been passed to other committees and commissions so as not to inflame relations between the two states at present.

Well, this is probably a wise decision. What is needed now more than ever is responsible and considered statements by deputies. Even if they are made for journalists. One of us has felt this on his own skin, as the saying goes. A member of the Presidium (we will not name him) told PRAVDA's journalist that funds for the recall of 35 deputies have been set aside in the Russian Supreme Soviet's budget for 1992. There were no grounds for not trusting the words of one of parliament's leaders. A rejoinder appeared in the newspaper in this regard. Alas, it turned out that even Presidium members are not always right. Funds really have been set aside for an election campaign. But to elect deputies to replace previous incumbents. No one was planning any recalls, so V. Kazakov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, said.

We apologize to the esteemed Russian Supreme Soviet for an unintentional mistake and hope that it will not affect PRAVDA's businesslike relations with the Russian parliament.

Further on Debate

PM2101114192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Report from the White House by parliamentary observer Robert Minasov: "Fourth Session of Russian Federation Supreme Soviet: Treaty Ratified But With Quite a Few Conditions Attached"]

[Text] The Russian parliament almost sparked off another political scandal 17 January.

At the joint morning session of the chambers, People's Deputy Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, speaking on behalf of the Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Ties, proposed that the question "On the Procedure for the Scrutiny of the President's Addresses by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet," which had been taken off the agenda because of the illness of keynote speaker Sergey Shakhray, be replaced by an examination of the draft resolution "On the Decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 19 February 1954 and of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 26 April 1954 on Removing the Crimea from the RSFSR."

Thank God that this bomb did not explode. Session chairman Sergey Filatov proposed that the discussion of this delicate question be postponed until it has been examined in the parliamentary committees. The overwhelming majority of deputies supported him. But the offensive, aggressive tone of the session had been set. That became apparent during the discussion of the question of ratifying the Treaty on the Fundamentals of Interstate Relations between the Russian Federation and the Lithuanian Republic.

In his brief speech, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev argued the need to ratify the treaty which, incidentally, Lithuania ratified during the August putsch, or to be precise, on 19 August last year.

In accordance with the treaty the sides, having distanced themselves from past obstacles to the full realization of their state sovereignty, express the determination to build their relations on the principles of friendship, good neighborliness, equality, and mutual benefit in accordance with the generally recognized norms of international law.

However, judging from the nature and content of the questions put to Andrey Kozyrev and Aleksandr Granberg, chairman of the Committee for Questions of Interrepublic Relations, Regional Policy, and Cooperation, it was felt that deputies are so highly skeptical of the treaty that it would not be easy to persuade them to ratify it.

The opponents' main arguments are understandable, of course: The document was signed in a completely different political situation than that which exists today: Lithuania was still part of the former USSR and the question of the immediate withdrawal of troops from the Baltic region was not so acute. It was said that life for the Russian-speaking population there is unpleasant and that their civil rights are being flouted. There has been a threat to deprive Kaliningrad Oblast of its power supply and so on.

A great many deputies took part in the subsequent discussion: Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, Pavel Lysov, Ivan Fedoseyev, Mikhail Molostvov, Iona Andronov, Rasul Mikailov, and others. As a result agreement was reached. After the submission of the draft ratification resolution of amendments on the conclusion of an agreement on cooperation between the mass media of Russia and Lithuania, the document was adopted.

Thus the treaty was ratified. Perhaps it will encourage further steps in the strengthening of ties of mutual benefit and mutual respect.

Then the deputies began the second reading of the draft law "On the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office."

Treaty Urges 'Direct Talks'

LD1701123892 Moscow TASS in English 1206 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation today ratified the treaty on the principles of inter-state relations between Russia and the Lithuanian Republic, signed here on July 25, 1991.

In order to create conditions, favouring mutually profitable and equitable relations between the two states, the Russian Government was instructed to urgently start direct talks with the Lithuanian Government in order to draw up and sign agreements, stipulated by the treaty.

Deputy Minister Comments on Treaty

LD1801110692

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1220 GMT on 17 January carries a recording of a 15-minute interview with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Fedor Shilov-Kovedyayev following the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 17 January, by correspondents Vladimir Kurnikov and Boris Morkovnikov.

One of the correspondents says that some people have complained that not enough is being done to protect the rights of Russian speakers in Lithuania. In response, Shilov-Kovedyayev calls the ratification "a wonderful event" which "lays down a legal basis for mutual relations with one of our nearest neighboring states."

He says the opinions of some deputies who have expressed the view described by the correspondent are not completely founded on facts. The Lithuanian parliament on 5 December considerably weakened its citizenship law to bring it into accord with the treaty between Lithuania and Russia. Intergovernmental agreements have also established that Lithuania will allow all products, including oil and electricity, necessary for Kaliningrad Oblast to pass through its territory. Moreover, he adds, Russia will supply oil products for power stations in Lithuania which supply electricity to Kalinigrad Oblast. Lithuania has agreed to this and these decisions show the seriousness of the Lithuanian side in fulfilling the provisions of the treaty.

Shilov-Kovedyayev continues: "The treaty establishes all necessary guarantees, in accordance with international legal norms, for the rights of the non-Lithuanian population on Lithuania territory, not only Russian speakers, but anybody." Russian-speakers share all the rights of Lithuanians. A number of documents have been drawn up to develop this further.

Asked about the time-scale for opening a Russian consulate in Lithuania, the deputy foreign minister says: "As far as the Foreign Ministry is concerned, all the necesary documents on this issue have been given to the government." On the basis of the treaty documents have been worked out and signed which estimate that in 1992 the amount of mutual deliveries will be worth 5 billion dollars. The treaty also confirms the Russian-Lithuanian borders as they are at present.

In conclusion, the correspondents say: "The deputies of the Lithuanian Sejm representing the Russian-speaking population there have called on the Russian Parliament to ratify the treaty. As you see all this has come about."

Committee Moves To Annul Crimean Transfer

LD1701204192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] INTERFAX reports that the International Affairs Committee of the Russian parliament is recommending that Russia's Supreme Soviet declare null and void the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 19 February and 6 April 1954, by which the Crimea ceased to be part of the RSFSR. The committee has submitted a decision that states that the transfer of the Crimea to the Ukraine was in violation of the USSR Constitution, since it was done without Russia's consent.

Regional Affairs

Khasbulatov Begins Visit to Udmurtiya

LD1901173592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2215 GMT 18 Jan 92

[By correspondents Alfred Artamonov and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Izhevsk, 18 Jan (TASS)—Today, the first day of a working visit by Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to Udmurtiya was devoted to meetings with managers of enterprises, the peasantry, and the academic intelligentsia in the republic.

A discussion of the problems of conversion of the defense complex, which forms the core of the republic's industrial potential, was held at the Izhevsk motor vehicle works. Ruslan Khasbulatov spoke in favor of financial and legislative support for the process of switching from military to civilian production.

Progress in implementing land reform was the focal topic of a conversation that took place at the "Vostochnyy" state farm. The main problem, in the view of the peasants of Udmurtiya, lies in a breach of the parity of prices for industrial and agricultural output. Moreover, the chairmen of collective and state farms were supported on this issue by the individual farmers. Replying to numerous questions, Ruslan Khasbulatov stressed that "strong-arm methods are impermissible in the rural sector." The Russian parliament, he said, will provide assistance "both to strong collective farms and to individual farmers."

In the evening Ruslan Khasbulatov had a meeting with the republic's academics. They discussed issues concerning the financing of the higher school and regional scientific research programs. The chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet was unable to put the minds of academics and college teachers entirely at rest, nor was he trying to do so. He stated that until the economy is put right, people cannot count on any improvement of the situation in the field of science.

Urges 'More Powers' for Republic

LD1901174892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Video report by correspondent Tynin from Izhevsk]

[Text] [Announcer] Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, met Udmurtiya's scientists last night. He stated that until the economy is in a healthier state, people cannot count on improving the situation in the scientific field. Ruslan Khasbulatov met deputies and members of the presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet today, as well as heads of local soviets.

[Tynin] No doubt the slogans which greeted Ruslan Khasbulatov at the entrance to Udmurtiya's parliament do not reflect the vital problems of the republic with a population of 1.5 million. The head of parliament stated at his meeting with Udmurtiya's people's deputies that he is satisfied with the fact that there is no pessimism among the rural inhabitants, industrialists, and scientists he has met. At the same time, Udmurtiya needs serious help. The main help, in Ruslan Khasbulatov's view, must lie in granting more powers to both the republic and the economic subjects on its territory.

[Khasbulatov] I myself support the fact that Udmurtiya's government and the Supreme Soviet are negotiating with the federal government regarding issues of oil policy, for instance. If you manage, so to speak, to get as much as other republics get, it will be your merit. If you do not manage to do it, again, it will be up to you.

Promises Economic Policy Adjustments

LD1901175892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Everybody has the idea that adjustments are needed in economic policy, and this is exactly what we will be doing, said Ruslan Khasbulatov, Russian Supreme Soviet chairman, at a meeting with people's deputies of various levels today in Izhevsk. Touching, in particular, on his recent remarks on the possible resignation of the government, Khasbulatov stressed that he considers it his right and responsibility to freely speak on any kind of subject. He also disagreed with those participants in the meeting who put forward the issue of the possible liquidation of the Russian Supreme Soviet. He claimed that if the Russian Supreme Soviet is disbanded, the situation will remain stable for no more than a month.

The head of the Russian parliament said that he intends to propose to the Russian Supreme Soviet that it should review its decision on ending the responsibilities of Union deputies.

Views Economic Situation

LD1901180592 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 19 Jan 92

[By correspondents Aleksey Tabachnikov and Alfred Artamonov]

[Text] Izhevsk, central Russia, January 19 TASS—Ruslan Khasbulatov, the Russian parliamentary speaker, is now on his second day touring the central Russian autonomous republic of Udmurtiya. On Sunday [19 January] Khasbulatov met with Udmurtiyan parliamentarians and with local councils' leaders.

According to Khasbulatov, the economic situation in the republic is somewhat better than in the other former autonomies, although it suffers the same difficulties as does the rest of the country.

The Udmurtiyan parliamentarians' questions addressed to Khasbulatov dealt with economic reform, conversion, agriculture and the situation in science and research.

Khasbulatov said it is necessary to modify the tax policies so that industry would be interested in expanding the production.

Khasbulatov also said his recent criticism of the Russian Government was not caused by what he saw during his tour of Ryazan or by his desire for the government to resign. "I only wanted to bring about the necessary corrections of the economic policies", Khasbulatov said.

Khasbulatov will visit an army unit and hold a news conference on Sunday evening.

Discusses Army, Visit Outcome

LD1901193392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1735 GMT 19 Jan 92

[By correspondents Aleksey Tabachnikov and Alfred Artamonov]

[Text] Izhevsk, 19 Jan (TASS)—During the second day of his stay in Udmurtiya, Ruslan Khasbulatov had an unscheduled conversation with representatives of the "Democratic Udmurtiya" movement. The members of this group of deputies voiced their perception of the political processes occurring in the republic.

The Russian parliament chairman then met with commanders of military units in Udmurtiya. He reported that the Supreme Soviet is at present examining a whole package of documents relating to the status of servicemen and their social protection. He stressed that "the Russian president and parliament are exceptionally concerned about the fate of the Army."

Speaking in the evening at a news conference on the outcome of his visit to Udmurtiya, Khasbulatov noted that he has been greatly impressed by "the diligence, calmness, and desire of the people to implement the reforms." The head of the parliament assessed as very important his meeting with the directors of defense works plants. In his words, the main aim of the trip was to find out how the various strata of society view the economic reform, to root out deviations in its implementation from the intended objectives, and to make the appropriate corrections.

Khasbulatov stressed that imperfect legislative activity and tax policy particularly need to be corrected.

Criticizes Legislative Activities

LD1901194292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov has ended his tour of Udmurtiya by criticizing current legislative activities. At a news conference in Izhevsk on 19 January devoted to the results of his two-day visit to Udmurtiya, Khasbulatov acknowledged that legislative activities are far from perfect. He sharply criticized the activities of the parliamentary commission, headed by Lev Ponomarev, on investigating the circumstances of the coup and the activities of the State Committee on the State of Emergency. Not a single substantial thing has been done over a period of five months. This undermines the position of our democratic system, Khasbulatov said.

On Small Arms Sales for Money

LD1901230492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 19 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] During his two-day visit to Udmurtiya, Ruslan Khasbulatov swapped his Chayka for a minibus. However, the position of the head of the Russian parliament has remained unchanged with the replacement of his car. Developing the topic of conversion at his meeting with the military, he said that the money for new civilian production may be also obtained by selling small arms abroad for a period of 2-3 years. At the same time, Udmurtiya, being a major arms manufacturing center, has every right to expect a substantial share of the hard currency that will be made from the sales. [passage omitted]

Official Denies Udmurtiya Government Crisis

LD2001222892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Vladimir Shorin, chairman of the Russian Parliamentary Committee, has refuted a report by TV Channel 1 that Ruslan Khasbulatov needed to travel to Udmurtiya because of a crisis in the government of that republic. Speaking at a news conference in Moscow, Shorin noted that the aim of the trip was to get to know the state of affairs in the republic after the liberalization of prices.

During Khasbulatov's visit, the leadership of Udmurtiya made an interesting proposal on the independent implementation of conversion at defense enterprises.

Yeltsin Decree on St. Petersburg TV, Radio

LD1701185392 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] Saint Petersburg January 17 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree forming Russian State Television and Radio Company "Petersburg." People's Deputy Viktor Yugin is appointed its chairman.

The founders of the new company are the employees of the Russian Ministry of Press and Information, of the mayor's office of Saint Petersburg and the administration of the province. The "Petersburg" TV and Radio Company will retain its existing material and technical base, TV channels and radio frequencies, but its programme coordination policy will be decided by a council of observers, consisting of representatives of the founders, judicial and executive bodies and sociopolitical organizations.

"We think the decree has subsided the tension in the work collective, liquidated monopolism and has paved a way for making the TV and radio company a joint-stock company", Viktor Yugin said.

Yeltsin's Activities in St. Petersburg Noted

PM2001144792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[By special correspondent Vladimir Sluzhakov: "We Have To Be Patient"]

[Text] St. Petersburg was the last stop in the Russian president's working tour of regions of the republic. The president gained firsthand knowledge of the population's initial reaction to the shock treatment policy. Briefly summing up his impressions at Pulkovo Airport, he described the current situation in Russia as the most serious since the war. "The Union leadership vacillated over economic reform for seven years. If we had started two or three years ago we would have climbed out of the deep pit we dug over 74 years." Yeltsin did not deny that free prices had led to uncontrollable consequences, sometimes to serious abuses. During his trip the president dismissed the director of the Novozybkov meatpacking plant for, as he defined it, "insulting people in one of the areas of Bryansk Oblast that suffered most as a result of the Chernobyl disaster. The boss could think of nothing more intelligent to do than stop producing boiled sausage and switch to smoked sausage at 140 rubles [R] apiece. Is that not sabotage?"

The president mentioned auctions again. In his view, it is the continuing existence of the auction structure that is pushing up prices. All auctions and similar structures must be abolished. It has been done in Nizhniy Novgorod. Only the milk auction remained, and it sold butter to stores at R208, compared with a cost price of R28. "These are extortionate prices, not free ones!" Yeltsin described such actions as an abuse perpetrated for the express purpose of stirring people up. And this makes one angry.

Democratization yes, but in tandem with it you need a strong executive, the president stressed. It must prove itself.

He described the mood in society as follows: By and large the people are gritting their teeth, but they support the reforms and are saying that they are prepared to be patient for six to eight months. The main thing now is to protect the needy strata of society. Ways of doing this must be found at government and local levels.

After laying a wreath on Victory Square to the defenders of the city, the president went on to the St. Petersburg maritime trading port, which, following the disintegration of the USSR, is the only gateway to the sea in the northwest part of the republic. Estonia and Finland now have to be paid large sums in hard currency to handle petroleum products. The need for a new oil port is as obvious as it is infeasible. A rather heated argument broke out on the quayside. The dockers' representative accused city hall of putting the port under the hammer. A. Sobchak made no secret of the city authorities' claims to ownership of the port. Yeltsin proposed that the collective be given 51 percent of the shares, with the remainder being distributed between foreign investors, the government, and the city. Despite the mayor's objections, the president decided to discuss the port issue at a government session on 23 January, giving a firm promise to the dockers that they would have a controlling interest.

The sewn goods association named for Volodarskiy, which Yeltsin also visited, has already gone public and is working pretty well. This appears to be the only bright spot in the president's entire trip. Unfortunately, it did not compensate for the grim conversations with people of St. Petersburg outside a food store, where the president asked again and again for them to be patient until the fall, promising to guarantee the city stocks for one month. The agreement between city hall, the president, and Leningrad Oblast and the transfer of the prodintorg [association for the export and import of food goods] to city control should to some extent ease the food problem. In his speeches, Yeltsin returned again and again to the need to radically reduce all intermediate links between producer and consumer and noted the local authorities' reluctance to tackle their own problems even within the framework of their own powers. The St. Petersburg cab drivers' "gift," in blocking the president's approach to the Smolnyy, was provoked by the fact that demands concerning the tariff situation and the privatization of cab pools have been simply ignored by city hall.

The president's advisers, according to G. Starovoytova, had been insisting that he adopt a tougher stance. The president had not agreed, and only now did he see for himself that administrative measures were unavoidable.

Liberation Movement Seeks Rus Republic

LD2001192492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] There was a very lively demonstration in St. Petersburg on 18 January. Beginning in the morning, democratic groups in the city convened a public meeting to commemorate the 74th anniversary of the Bolsheviks' breaking up of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. Flowers were laid at Tauride Palace and the scene of other bloody incidents of 1918 when the Bolsheviks fired on a peaceful demonstration staged by Petrograd workers. Several hundred citizens called for a campaign to elect a new Russian Constituent Assembly without further delay.

Toward evening, the central squares of St. Petersburg were illuminated by a torchlight procession. In this way the Russian liberation movement demonstrated its support for the establishment of a sovereign republic called Rus on the territory of the Russian Federation. The movement held a general meeting on Palace Square, where it announced that the formation of Russian self-government committees will start in St. Petersburg. According to meeting organizers, the formation of such committees in St. Petersburg will encourage the establishment of similar structures in all parts of Russia and neighboring republics. Furthermore, it is intended that these committees will facilitate the revival of the Russian people's sovereignty in Russian cities and work for the establishment of a Republic of Rus in the Russian Federation.

The nation's interests are supreme, the supporters of the Russian liberation movement chanted. They demanded that Russians be granted not just autonomy but proportional representation on federal and municipal bodies of power.

Yevgeniy Kozlov, one of the leaders of the Russian liberation movement, explained to Russia's Radio the procedure for the establishment of the Russian self-government committees and described tactics for defending these committees against legally established authorities. Yevgeniy Krylov says establishment of the first committees in St. Petersburg will be conducted by Russian-oriented people who will coordinate measures to secure the economic and cultural independence of Russians in St. Petersburg. If the authorities oppose these measures, Krylov envisages that the movement will defend itself. Krylov believes that self-defense vigilante squads, now being formed within the Russian liberation movement, will play a specific role in saving Russians in St. Petersburg.

Dudayev Views Gamsakhurdia as Legal Authority

LD2001211292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2040 GMT 20 Jan 92

[By correspondents Andrey Antonov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan (TASS)—"We recognize only the consitutional government of Georgia and the president elected by the will of the people," General Dzhokhar Dudayev, president of the Chechen Republic, has said. Interviewed by TASS correspondents over the telephone, he particularly emphasized that he "does not recognize any violent removal of a legally elected authority anywhere on the globe." The president of the Chechen Republic said this applied to the present relations between Chechnya and the new authorities in Georgia.

Asked about help from the republic for President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Dudayev said that such help might be implemented in the form of "political support, without a civil war, if we are invited in and entrusted with consultative, parliamentary, and other mediation activities." In this connection, the president of the Chechen Republic once again insisted: "All this is possible, as long as there is no bloodshed."

Dudayev Suggests Oath for Military Units

LD1701223692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Chechen leader Dudayev suggested today that military units stationed in Chechnya should take an oath of allegiance to the Chechen people on 2 February, according to INTERFAX.

Ingush State of Emergency To Remain in Force

LD1901180892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] The state of emergency introduced on 9 January on the territory of three Ingush rayons will stay in force until the decision of the Chechen Republic parliament on changes in the state borders between Chechya and Ingushetia is cancelled. Ruslan Tatiyev, chairman of the Sunzhenskiy Rayon Soviet, revealed this to a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent. He heads the rayon's extraordinary committee, which has the right to resolve issues of economic and political management. According to him, the state of emergency was introduced in the Sunzhenskiy, Nazranskiy, and Malgobekskiy rayons by a general decision reached by the three soviets. Tatiyev also refuted rumors that the leadership of Ingushetia had appealed to the Russian parliament to introduce troops. The lawful structures of power are in force at present, he stated.

Kuzbass Leaders Go to Moscow To Avert Strike

LD2001114192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] The leaders of the administration of Kuzbass and of the local Independent Trade Union of Miners has left for Moscow today. They intend to meet representatives of the Russian leadership in connection with the fact that a strike situation has evolved in Kuzbass.

The oblast council of the Independent Trade Union of Miners has announced that it is ready for the general strike, which is scheduled to take place on 25 January. The council believes there is no other way out of a situation with uncontrolled price increases.

Nevertheless, the head of the Kuzbass administration, Mikhail Kislyuk, expressed the view that the results of the meeting in Moscow with the Russian president and his team will appease the coal miners. It is important that all the problems of the coal field be resolved by 25 January.

Assassination Attempt on Dagestan Minister

LD1801104192 Moscow TASS in English 0936 GMT 18 Jan 92

[By correspondent Gadzhi Shamov]

[Text] Makhachkala January 18 TASS—An attempt on the life of Abdurazak Mirzabekov, prime minister of the Dagestan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], was staged on Friday [17 January] evening. Unidentified persons threw a grenade into the window of his apartment. The blast slightly injured Mirzabekov's wife. The prime minister himself was in his office when the explosion occurred. The circumstances of the incident are being investigated.

One should note that it has not been the first attempt on the life of Mirzabekov, members of his cabinet and people's deputies of the republic. Similar attempts were made to do away with Dagestan Minister of Trade Bagauddin Gadzhiyev, Russian People's Deputy Gadis Gadzhiyev, chairmen of city and district executive committees and other senior officials. Over a dozen of such incidents were reported in the republic in 1991 alone.

Yamal-Nenetsk Republic Established

LD2001150092 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Yet another republic has been established in Russia. In this instance, the Yamal-Nenetskaya Republic has been created. Its creation was announced at the okrug soviet of deputies. The session has elected a two-chamber parliament of the republic. ROSSISSKAYA GAZETA thinks the financial capabilities of the okrug gives reason to doubt whether life in this northern region can be turned for the better in connection with its new status. At the same time, the newspaper reminds readers that almost 70 percent of Russia's gas is extracted in the Yamal region.

Maritime Territory 'Hit' With Energy Crisis

LD2001122992 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 20 Jan 92

[By correspondent Ilsiyar Malysheva]

[Text] Vladivostok January 20 TASS—Paradoxically, people in the Far Eastern Maritime Territory feel no elation on hearing they can have two more days off work in which to do what they like. Some of them at least would rather do extra work to make sure the area gets enough power to keep homes warm.

Several years ago there appeared the first signs that the coal industry was lagging behind demand for fuel, but until recently it did not cause any particular anxiety. In recent months the problem came to a head, and Dalenergo electricity suppliers were forced to draw up a schedule to ration electricity consumption. Industrial enterprises and their staffs were the hardest hit. Staying away from work as there is no electricity supply has become a commonplace thing.

"We have had a number of proposals for reducing power consumption, apart from stopping the work. But there is a growing fear we may find ourselves following in the steps of the Khabarovsk authorities, who are now removing people from not heated apartments. So we are considering closing down some major enterprises instead in order to keep people warm in their homes," Mr. Patin, director of the State Energy Supervising Agency, told TASS.

There is an increasing concern over the future. The Maritime Territory badly needs a clear-cut long-term plan for developing its power engineering based on a thorough study of prospects, not only current economic requirements. The problem can hardly be resolved only by stepping up electricity production at the local coal-burning power station. People are clamouring for new energy-saving industrial and household mechanisms, aggregates and production lines to make their jobs rewarding and their homes a haven in any weather.

Maritime Kray Miners Not Paid Since Dec

LD1701195192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] According to TASS, the situation in miners villages in the Maritime Kray is becoming explosive. The people are outraged not so much by the astronomical price rises and norms set for some goods, but by the fact that miners have not been paid since December. According to Maritime Kray financial specialists, there is no money in the banks.

Archangelsk Base May Contain Nuclear Systems

OW1701190792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The newspaper SEVERNY KOMSOMOLETS says the anti-aircraft missile base near Archangelsk may contain nuclear systems.

According to the paper, hundreds of Archangelsk residents having summer cottages in the suburbs know the exact location of missiles shafts which are still guarded 24 hours a day.

The editor notes that this information has come from non-official but well informed sources.

Ethnic Germans Seek Autonomous Republic

LD2001183192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1416 GMT 20 Jan 92

[By diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 20 Jan (TASS)—We need an autonomous republic already today, not sometime in the indefinite future, says the statement handed in to TASS today by the USSR Union of Germans. It was issued in connection with the remarks Boris Yeltsin made during a recent visit to Saratov. [passage omitted]

In the meantime, the practical solution of the issue of restoring German statehood in Russia is being postponed. Representatives of this nationality continue to leave the country. A TASS correspondent was informed in the German Embassy in Russia today that almost 133,000 exit visas to leave for Germany have been issued to Russian Germans who live in the various republics of the former USSR.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Meets With U.S. Senators on Military

LD2001200592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1823 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Report by UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Melnik]

[Text] Kiev, 20 Jan (TASS)—A number of questions connected with the future fate of the Black Sea Fleet and strategic weapons were discussed today in a conversation between Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and U.S. Senators James Exon, Strom Thurmond, Carl Levin, and Connie Mack, who are here.

Leonid Kravchuk stressed that the heads of state of the former Union have agreed with the Ukraine's position on forming its own fleet based on the Black Sea Fleet. A commission now has been set up which will divide up the fleet into strategic and non-strategic fleets, after which the part of it with conventional weapons will be handed over to the Ukraine. A decision also has been adopted to destroy tactical nuclear weapons by July this year and strategic weapons by 1994. If for some reason there is no success in doing this on time, they will be taken out of operational readiness.

Answering questions from the senators with regard to control [kontrolya] over disarmament, the Ukrainian president said: It is being conducted on the part of the Ukraine and Russia. The question of international observers also is being posed. In connection with the re-profiling of military works—and there are about 1,400 of them in the Ukraine—Leonid Kravchuk noted, the problem arises of financing the conversion program, which requires $2.5 billion. In this regard, there was talk about what assistance foreign countries could give.

The president assured the U.S. senators that the Ukraine will not turn away from the road it had chosen. It will be independent, democratic, and nuclear-free. At the same time, the Ukraine does not think of itself at this time without ties with other states of the former Union, which it intends to develop on the basis of equal partnership and goodneighborliness.

UK's Hurd Comments on Meeting With Kravchuk

LD1901230392 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Today the (?high) British guest met with the top leaders of Ukraine, President Leonid Kravchuk, Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko. Under discussion were concrete issues of development of relations between Ukraine and Great Britain.

Here is what Douglas Hurd said during his meeting with the president of Ukraine:

[Begin Hurd recording] I'm very grateful to you Mr. President for receiving me on a Sunday [19 January]. I came here last year and saw for myself how you were preparing for independence. Now I come and congratulate you on the real thing, and we will, we are already building up our diplomatic relations, I hope also our commercial relations, our investment relations, that is all [words indistinct] and I hope my visit will help to accelerate that process. [end recording]

Holds News Conference

LD1901210192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1902 GMT 19 Jan 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev, 19 Jan (TASS)—Great Britain's recognition of the Ukraine's independence and the subsequent establishment of diplomatic and consular relations have laid the foundation for bilateral cooperation in the interests of the two countries and peoples. This was stated at a meeting today between Anatoliy Zlenko, the Ukraine's foreign minister, and Douglas Hurd, British secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs.

During their conversation, the ministers agreed that the current situation promotes fruitful contacts between the Ukraine and Great Britain in the political, diplomatic, trade, cultural, and humanitarian spheres. Discussing a wide range of international problems of mutual interest, the ministers paid particular attention to cooperation between the governments of the Ukraine and Great Britain in the fields of disarmament and human rights and in integrating the Ukraine into the all-European process and into international organizations.

Douglas Hurd confirmed an invitation to Anatoliy Zlenko to pay an official visit to Great Britain.

A dialogue with Ukraine Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov concerned nuclear and conventional arms control and Ukraine's establishment of its own armed forces.

Douglas Hurd stated: "I was satisfied with the approach of Ukrainian leaders to the problem of nuclear weapons, and particularly to the fact that the Ukraine has set clear deadlines for withdrawing and destroying these weapons." He announced that the countries of NATO and the European Community, and primarily Great Britain, are ready to offer technical, technological, and financial assistance in this process.

Sharing his impressions of meetings with Leonid Kravchuk and other Ukrainian leaders, Douglas Hurd expressed confidence that all the problems now facing the Ukraine will be successfully overcome. "What I liked most of all was their position on settling disputes and misunderstandings between Commonwealth of Independent States countries. I was told quite firmly that the Ukraine intends to resolve them strictly through talks," stressed the minister.

As regards the economic side of the talks, he said that British companies are already prepared to begin contacts with their Ukrainian colleagues. The conference on aid to former republics of the Soviet Union that is to be held in Washington should play a major role in this area, the minister noted.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 2035 GMT on 19 January added that Douglas Hurd has left Kiev for Moscow.]

Government Establishes Relations With India

OW1701182392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] J.N. Dixit, India's State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said in Kiev on Friday [17 January] that his country will open its embassy in the Ukrainian capital next summer. A protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries was signed on January 17.

Mr. Dixit said the Indian people and government attached considerable significance to the promotion of contracts with Ukraine. During his current visit he intended to negotiate the prospects of Indian-Ukrainian cooperation in the political, economic, scientific and cultural spheres.

The guest extended to President Leonid Kravchuk the Indian Premier's and Foreign Minister's invitation to visit their country in the near future. Mr. Kravchuk accepted the invitation with gratitude and stressed the point that his republic regarded the development of its relations with India as one of its political priorities.

Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko told the Indian delegation that Ukraine's foreign political efforts would be aimed at the republic's integration into the international community.

Mr. Dixit asked Mr. Zlenko to take under his personal control the future of 700-odd Indian students studying in Ukraine, who would be able upon their graduation to make a mighty contribution to mutually beneficial relations between the two countries.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Interviewed on Military, Economy

LD1901164492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1220 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Phone-in interview with President Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk in studio in Kiev, with questions from local correspondent Viktor Pasak, and, in the Moscow studio, from moderator Yuliy Semenov, Kyrgyz correspondent Kalbek Vestibesov, and NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent Mikhail Leontyev, and from viewers—live]

[Text] [Semenov] Good afternoon, esteemed TV viewers! We will spend the next 40 minutes in direct contact with Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk, president of independent Ukraine. You can see him now. Our greetings to you, Leonid Makarovich; good day!

[Kravchuk] Thank you. My greetings to you, too. Good day!

[Semenov] Journalist Viktor Pasak, our colleague in Kiev, is next to Leonid Makarovich.

[Pasak] Good day, Yuriy Aleksandrovich!

[Semenov] Good day! Here is our journalist team from the Moscow studio—Kalbek Estebesov, journalist from Kyrgyzstan, and Mikhail Leontyev, who is not a radio or TV journalist but a correspondent of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

The number of our multi-line telephone is as follows—they have a common number: here in Moscow it is 217 4563. For those who will telephone from outside Moscow, let me remind you that the code for Moscow is 095. The telephone numbers in Kiev—you can see them—are on the screen in the Kiev studio. For those who will telephone from outside Kiev, let me explain that the code for Kiev is 044.

Now I would like to say that today's dialogue on the air is a continuation of another dialogue that was in the same series of programs. Then we introduced the president of Ukraine to you and today it so happened that life prompted a necessity for a new conversation. You all know that the Commonwealth states have to resolve complicated problems, their own as well as between themselves. Discussions are under way and there are disagreements and some misunderstandings. We are seeking common solutions. The position of the Ukraine and of the president of the Ukraine is, as we all now, the center of public attention and attracts great interest. Therefore, over the last few days we efficiently resolved the matter, and we are grateful to Leonid Makarovich for agreeing to continue this conversation on the air.

As is customary in our series of programs, we start with an opportunity for the main protagonist of our program to say what he thinks is necessary to begin this conversation. Over to you, Leonid Makarovich.

[Kravchuk] Good day, esteemed TV viewers. We have already had some experience of talking live on the air and I think it would be right if, instead of paying a lot of attention to my monologue, we were to concentrate on our dialogue. Well, just a few words.

The situation in the Ukraine is not unequivocal, but the Ukranian people are building their independent state. The policy that we are pursuing is backed by the people. This is a consistent and fundamental policy. It is aimed at setting up an independent state with all the attributes of statehood. Main issues today are economic problems, the liberalization of prices—or to be more precise, the price increase that has taken place in the Ukraine, not only under the influence of internal circumstances, but also under the pressure of external circumstances, to some extent. Present reaction to this is once again complicated and not unequivocal. But we are adjusting and will carry on adjusting to it; we will lower prices for the most essential items. We will protect the interests of consumers and the interests of people.

We will build our armed forces as we are doing now. We are building them on the principles agreed upon in Alma-Ata and Minsk, on rigid observance of norms and laws adopted by the Ukranian Supreme Soviet.

We are trying to construct our independence and our armed forces, not by encroaching upon the interests of other states, but by taking those interests into account and by adjusting our policy and our practical actions by bearing that in mind. We listen to our people, to all categories of them. We listen to political parties, to movements which exist in Ukraine. On this basis we are working out a policy which is, understandably, not treated unequivocally by everyone.

But at this difficult time when, in our actions, we are constrained by other states and events which happen outside the Ukraine, it is not so easy to work out a clear-cut policy. And moreover, it is not so easy to carry out practical actions that meet the interests of all the people. But the main thing for us is the interests of the Ukranian people and not to inflict damage on the interests of other states of the Commonwealth which we have formed.

On that subject I would like to finish my brief monologue.

[Semenov] Allow me then to move straight on to the questions.

[Kravchuk] Go ahead.

[Semenov] You will naturally be answering questions today on your policies in the Ukraine, the situation in the Ukraine itself, and the position of the Ukraine in the Commonwealth. Here is the first question, which sums up a whole group of questions and remarks, not unambiguous ones, as you rightly said. What do you see as the Ukraine's role in the Commonwealth? This question has the following implication. You will know that we used to have the Novo-Ogarevo process. We have forgotten about it today. It was halted by the fact that we took another route—the creation of a Commonwealth of Independent States. The Ukraine was one of the originators of this switch. Now the Ukraine's position to some extent stands out from the other members of the Commonwealth. That is what I want to ask you about. How do you view the Ukraine's role in the Commonwealth?

[Kravchuk] I think that the Ukraine's position does not stand out. I will be more precise. The Ukraine's position is a consistent and principled one: compliance with the accords adopted in Alma-Ata and Minsk. If in Alma-Ata we said that the Commonwealth of Independent States is not a state, and is not even a state entity, then we construct our policy on the basis of this principle. That is, the domestic and foreign policy of each state is determined by the people and the government structures of that state. The representatives of other states—I do not want to specify them here—forget this truth and are attempting again to create something that would resemble a state. For instance, the idea of a single army is based on the principle of a single state, because there cannot be 11 states and a single army. This is because thousands of questions would immediately arise on the command of the army and other problems that cannot be solved without a single state.

So if you set the task of creating a single army, then naturally you must clearly set the task of creating a single state. But that task is unrealizable today because the peoples are constructing their states independently of the points of view of different politicians. They are constructing them independently on the basis of their own interests. So our policy and our position are wholly determined by the documents of the Commonwealth, and we have no intention of diverging from these documents.

[Semenov] Thank you. Viktor, your question, please.

[Pasak] So what is your view, then, of the appeal on the front page of yesterday's PRAVDA? I have brought it with me: "Keep a Single Army."

[Kravchuk] Before I speak about what it means and the way this was illustrated by the officers' assembly, let me point out that officers have many reasons to feel agitated, to be dissatisfied. Let me go even further—I acknowledge that these reasons do exist. But I do not think the problem can be solved by retracing our steps. It must be solved by taking account of those realities which already exist today. The creation of a single army is a step backwards. Leaders—even many military leaders—realize this and believe that each state is entitled to its own army. But I believe, I am convinced, that the main reason why the officers' assembly was held was to show and prove the need for a single army. In fact the opening slogans at the Kremlin meeting cast doubt on the actual legitimacy of the Minsk agreements and other documents which have been signed by the leaders of the states. In other words, they cast doubt on all the actions we have taken on behalf of our peoples.

Therefore, I think that in this instance PRAVDA is reflecting the interests of those people, or those groups of people, who would like to return to the good old days—in inverted commas.

[Semenov] Leonid Makarovich, maybe we could take advantage of this opportunity to clear up one misunderstanding. I know you have just explained your view of the all-army assembly. But some sections of the media have reported you as saying somewhere that it makes about as much difference to you as an eclipse of the moon, and so on.

[Kravchuk] Well, I...

[Semenov, interrupting] I dare say you never actually made that remark. But could you clarify the situation all the same?

[Kravchuk] You know, I have been thinking about this ever since. I have not met any journalists since then. Maybe I let the phrase slip in some private conversation, out of annoyance at these demands for the presidents of other states to be brought, almost under guard, to the officers' assembly. You recall the fuss made about this there, especially at the opening. But, in general, I have not met any journalists. Let me emphasize that I respect any assembly and any decisions.

I did not say that the officers' assembly made about as much difference to me as the moon, or whatever it was I am supposed to have said. I said only one thing about the officers' assembly—and this applies to any assembly which has no clear-cut status, which has not been formally constituted, and whose powers and right to adopt decisions are not clear. It is difficult to see what legal force such decisions can have. I believe that they can only have the force of recommendations—not because I understimate this assembly. It is just that its legal status has not been defined. It lacks status.

So what I said was that if demands were put to me then such demands would make no difference whatsoever to me.

[Pasak] Just as though they were an eclipse of the moon.

[Kravchuk] Quite right. No difference.

And in general, for the assembly to demand the appearance of presidents there, for presidents to be delivered, as it was put, directly to the assembly, strikes me as not really serious and simply lacking in awareness. It seems to me that we had decided the day before—after all, this was not something out of the blue; we had met the day before the assembly, all the presidents, and we had decided—that either our interests would be represented or else Yeltsin and Nazarbayev would represent the interests of all. I had reservations on this score, that is as may be, but I voiced them openly. I knew, I could foresee, I had even set out a scenario for how it would be—that the assembly would divide presidents into important and less important ones, into good and less good ones. Those who supported, in this case, the idea of the assembly of officers would be dubbed good presidents—as was indeed underlined—and those who did not turn up would of course be bad presidents.

And so by virtue of that kind of scenario the officers had already divided the presidents up. But, you see, I cannot regulate the actions of my colleagues. That is their right. But I want to say in all frankness that the populism which began with the coming of perestroyka has not yet been overcome and continues to hold sway over, not only the masses, but even some presidents, too.

[Pasak] Leonid Makarovich, honestly speaking, I was surprised that when one of the officers said that we have the main president of all here with us, Boris Nikolayevich gave no reaction other than a friendly smile.

[Kravchuk] Well, it is agreeable when nice words are uttered, but the important thing here, it seems to me, is not whether one reacts to words good or bad, but whether one upholds the accords that were passed the day before.

[Pasak] I should like to continue a subject which was raised by Yuliy Aleksandrovich, in the following way. When I was preparing for today's live program I reread the transcript of our previous TV-bridge. Here is something you said on that occasion, Leonid Makarovich: One people cannot be subordinated to the interests of another people. So, has anything changed since then within the Commonwealth?

[Kravchuk] I did utter that sentence on that occasion and now ...[changes thought] what I had in mind was that all peoples, all states, big and small, in the Commonwealth should be equal and enjoy equal rights. Regrettably, that idea which would appear to be simple—it permeates all the wording, all articles of the documents we signed in Minsk, in Alma-Ata and in the Belovezhskaya forest—has not yet been grasped. Because statements made by many of the officers there—and these were not youngsters, but experienced officers—well, it was not really very pleasant to hear it being said that all troops should be put under Russia's jurisdiction, for instance, or under Kazakhstan's jurisdiction. I can make allowances in general for the complexity of the matter, for people being carried away by emotion, or perhaps for exasperation. But I repeat, when the proceedings are relayed live all day and such unequal attitudes to peoples, to states, are being pushed, then something has not been grasped.

[Semenov] Leonid Makarovich, but I would like to hope that you nonetheless realize that many of the things which were said at this meeting and which people said in connection with it nonetheless reflect the real mood of great numbers of people.

[Kravchuk] Without doubt, I...

[Semenov, inerrupting] It is not even a question of the meeting, because we have here quite a lot of notes and quite a lot of calls with a critical assessment, let us say, of your position. In particular, people are interested by two new concepts which have cropped up in this sphere. Relatively new ones. They are, let us say, general purposes forces [sily obshchego naznacheniya].

[Kravchuk] Yes.

[Semenov] You know, it has appeared in presidential documents.

[Kravchuk] Yes, yes.

[Semenov] And, interim period [perekhodnyy period], for, so to speak, the resolution of the issue of the armed forces. What is your attitude to these two new aspects?

[Kravchuk] These concepts have not only just appeared. Let us say, in the Ukraine, interim period—we have been working for six months with the former Ministry of Defense on the basis of those documents which we have adopted and we agreed on an interim period for Ukraine with the same Marshal Shaposhnikov.

But the whole point is that instead of resolving the problems of the interim period, we are constantly observing a shift in standpoints over a certain period. Interim period means the right to build Ukrainian armed forces. But here, at the officers' meeting, Marshal Shaposhnikov speaks in favor of unified armed forces. But if there are unified armed forces, then interim period ceases to exist as a concept. That is—do you understand?—there are things which cannot be changed, I repeat, every day. One has to make up one's mind. We are for an interim period. We are for a gradual approach. We are for the conclusion of a treaty between the Cabinet of Ministers and the present Army Command. That is, we have defined everything and noted it down. And we are attempting to fulfill this, while the leadership attempts to constrain us or to completely change its point of view. So, interim period for us is a concept of more than six months' standing.

The same goes for general purpose forces, when we determined them. Even earlier, even before, I repeat, before the Commonwealth, there was an understanding to set up unified Armed Forces under a unified command and then the question of common Armed Forces arose for those states which do not intend setting up their own Armed Forces. So, these concepts are as old as the hills, if one may express it thus, and they did not appear today.

[Semenov] I think that your standpoint is expounded sufficiently lucidly, and by the same token you have answered the questions of television viewers Boris (?Svesich) Batanchuk of Dushanbe, Mikhail Ivanovich Sevalin of Moscow, Goborov, Vyacheslav Fedorovich, retired colonel, and I will not name other names because viewers feel insulted that we ask questions on their behalf and do not name them personally.

Evidently it is time, perhaps, to switch over to questions of an economic nature. Mikhail Leontyev is using his right to a question. Go ahead.

[Pasak] Yuliy Aleksandrovich, I am sorry, let us nonetheless finish with the subject of common armed forces.

We have another serious question which is being repeated in many telephone conversations. People are interested—they once again return to the all-army conference and ask: what is the significance of the phrase said by Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] Armed Forces, regarding the haste of setting up national formations while documents are signed in Minsk on 30 December which regulate the order of their creation?

[Kravchuk] Well, according to the agreement signed by all the presidents in Minsk, starting from 3 January the Ukraine embarks upon the creation of its own Armed Forces, coordinating its actions with the leadership of the Armed Forces and other states. This is what we started to do.

[Pasak] And as far as I know, there is Shaposhnikov's signature there as well?

[Kravchuk] There is his signature. He put forward this proposal and was backed up by us. This is exactly what I am saying. When we begin to do something and when we all agree to it, it means that it must be done. I agree that there can be inaccuracies, which must be corrected and made more precise. But by stopping this process or by turning back the other way, we will only be driving this issue into a corner.

We should and can resolve the problem of the Armed Forces only through understanding that what have been created are independent states, that this is not a unified state that we have, and that there cannot be unified armed forces. That is a task that is not feasible. The problems need to be resolved on the basis of the existing political, economic, and military realities. Incidentally, the majority of officers and generals serving in Ukraine, commanders of military districts in Ukraine and many senior officers, believe that the sole way of resolving the question today is to accept that independent states have the right to their own armed forces. The technicalities, the mechanism for resolving this, is another matter, one which has to be found and resolved. But things cannot be stopped—I repeat—they cannot be turned back the other way.

[Pasak] Thank you, Leonid Makarovich, thank you. And now over to economic questions.

[Semenov] Yes, you know, after all, people find it difficult to understand why priority issues in politics are presently connected with Armed Forces when the economic situation is so complicated, and it is the same here. They will be absolutely right in reproaching us for dedicating more than half a program to the military topic, although it is an important and acute one. At least a couple of words must be said about the economy. Over to you.

[Leontyev] Leonid Makarovich, as you understand the majority of TV viewers' questions are connected with coupons, the process of introducing coupons. Questions are practically very similar. Here is a question from Novikova Nadezhda Ivanovna. Her parents live in a Ukranian village, well, what should she do? How can she come there? Petrova Lidiya Ivanovna was born in the Ukraine and lived there for 17 years. She is Ukranian. When she stayed in Ukraine she had no bread, she could not buy bread. Abramov, an inter-city driver. Again, they do not give him fuel, he cannot buy bread.

Could you explain what the point of introducing coupons was? If it was intended to protect the internal market, it seems a strange measure in the context of deregulation. If it is in fact the beginning of monetary reform, then what general concept lies behind it? What have coupons got to do with it? Will some sort of exchange rate be established between coupons and rubles, if they are in fact money? And if they are not money, then what are they?

[Kravchuk] No doubt the lack of precise information gives rise to such questions and problems. Coupons, the introduction of coupons, were planned, envisaged by us as notes that would exist side-by-side with the ruble. In other words, the idea was that if somebody received a salary of 3,000 rubles, he would also get a corresponding amount in coupons. The coupon would have no force without the ruble. We decided to begin the economic reform with this. But, in order to resolve this question, we needed to have a sufficient quantity of rubles. We needed quite a few rubles. We needed to have 18,000 million ruble notes for January.

Obviously, Russia has a monopoly on the production of ruble notes. On several occasions we asked the Russian Government to make these available to us. I am not criticizing anybody here. I know the difficulties Russia has. I know that wages are not being paid in many Russian cities because of a shortage of rubles.

Anyway, these rubles are not available. So we found ourselves unable to pay wages. We were, I stress, forced to pay 25 percent of people's wages in the form of coupons rather than rubles. This was a forced measure, and not one that had been planned as such. But if I were to be quite frank—and I have discussed this with the Russian leadership—if further price rises and wage increases require colossal increases in the amount of available money and if we do not have the banknotes, we shall be compelled to find a way out. You know, many factories are already bringing in coupons or designating some sort of works or combine notes, so to speak, because they don't have the money to pay their people. This is a forced measure, and we will be compelled to increase the number of coupons used for people's salaries. So this is not the beginning of a monetary reform. It is not a switch to some sort of new financial relations. When we decide to bring in our own banknotes, our own currency, we will get in touch with the leadership of Russia and other states, as stipulated by agreement, and make sure that the move does not affect the interests of these states. Only that way—and no other.

[Leontyev] Nevertheless, Leonid Makarovich, readers—sorry, viewers—still claim that goods cannot be bought with rubles. Bread cannot be bought. Unlike vouchers used by factories, coupons are, if not money perhaps, then bonds issued by the Ukrainian state. Some thought should really be given to some sort of exchange rate between coupons and rubles. In the actual situation that has arisen, does the Ukraine intend to organize an exchange rate in some form, to define an exchange rate between coupons and rubles in some way? After all, it is already being quoted in Moscow bazaars.

[Kravchuk] Well, our state ...

[Unidentified correspondent, interrupting] And not only at Moscow's bazaars ....

[Kravchuk] Yes, the way we are determining it ... [changes thought] The government is now working on these problems, on determining the further ... [changes thought] in our conditions ... [changes thought] active introduction of coupons. Then a formula will be found. Then a program will be devised; our government will get in touch with governments of other states and determine everything involved in this. That was said at the Cabinet of Ministers meeting held three days ago.

[Pasak] Leonid Makarovich, but what is to be done in the specific case of someone in transit across the territory of Ukraine, if he cannot actually buy a loaf of bread?

[Unidentified correspondent, interrupting] Yes, we have a similar question from...

[Kravchuk, interrupting] Well, it is for that reason that I have been saying that in that case ... [changes thought] if, as far as this issue is concerned, we move to paying wages and salaries wholly in coupons, then corresponding changes will be made. At present only 25 percent ... [changes thought] and today in many cafeterias everywhere, and tickets and everything are all sold for rubles. So in essence what we have today, well, if coupons are described as currency then there are two currencies in circulation—rubles and coupons—and this would lead to the most grave consequences both for our people and for visitors. But let me repeat again that this measure was forced on us by a lack of banknotes, and by that alone.

[Pasak] Well, to allay the fears of my colleagues in Moscow a little, I would like simply to offer by way of information that anyone on a business trip to the Ukraine can eat in a cafeteria or a buffet or a restaurant wherever he is—rubles will be accepted there...

[Kravchuk, interrupting] And all railway tickets, air tickets, everything can be bought for rubles.

[Semenov] So I hope that if we come to see you you will not leave us hungry.

[Kravchuk] Of course not, we will treat you to Ukrainian bacon. [general laughter]

[Semenov] Good. Now it seems to me time to allow a few words to the participant in our program who has come the furthest to be here. I mean Kalbek Estebesov. Over to you.

[Estebesov] Yes, thank you. I have a mass of questions accumulated here, and if I extract the gist of them, then it would probably be right to put the question in the following way: The idea has been voiced repeatedly in the media that the sole panacea against possible adverse political developments could be a federative land arrangement for a single independent state—in this case the Ukraine—with broad rights of self-government. By the term adverse political developments, one should, of course, understand concern over the absence, at this moment, of an outlined plan for the independence which has been declared. True, this was being said at the end of last year, but how do things stand now on this score?

[Kravchuk] Well, that was at the time of the run-up to the presidential elections. There were many candidates for president.

We had seven candidates. They expressed various points of view, including the view about the federalization of lands, and others, and this was the subject of widespread discussion. Now that this process has been completed and the president has been elected and the president's program outlined at the Supreme Soviet, we are working on an administration plan and on administration structures which will be set out at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine on 28 January this year.

[Estebesov] Leonid Makarovich, another little question has arisen in passing: In the widest sense the people will be fed not by the politicians, not by the military, but by the peasants, the land-workers. What we have on our tables is going to depend on them first and foremost, and undoubtedly there have been flaws in the way in which agriculture has existed. New forms of working in agriculture—lease-contracting, private farming, and so on—have received very wide development with us in Kyrgyzstan. How do things stand in the Ukraine in this regard?

[Kravchuk] We also have examples, but this has not yet received widespread development because the law adopted in our country, the land code, did not contain the concept of private ownership of land, and this has held back many processes, including those involving lease-contracting. A law on leasing has now been adopted in our country. A whole range of additional documents and mechanisms to resolve this question have been adopted but I think that a whole range of conditions are essential for full movement in the field of revamping agriculture, covering both equipment and rights and guarantees, in other words a whole set of issues that have to be adopted, thereby reassuring the peasant and giving him conditions and hope. Only then will real reforms take place in the countryside.

[Semenov] Leonid Makarovich, a question connected both with the economy and with some very important problems for people: It evidently worries those who phone in to the Moscow studio and also to the Ukrainian studio. You are aware that the clocks have been put forward today in Russia, in most of the oblasts of Russia, and now there is a difference of one hour between time in the Ukraine and time in the European part of Russia, say. Problems arise with regard to train traffic and railway timetables, and so on and so forth. Hold-ups and delays and so on are possible.

[Kravchuk] Yes, that is possible, that is possible, but the same question arises. Before the clocks were moved forward in Russia, the other republics should, I think, have been consulted. I have profound respect for Russians, and for the Russian Government, because this government was elected by the people. I profoundly respect them. But if every member of the Commonwealth acts any way it likes without consulting its partners, even formally, on fundamental questions which affect everybody's interests, the Commonwealth will never be authoritative or durable. This needs not merely to be borne in mind but made a rule of life.

We are now faced with the following situation: Our Supreme Soviet also adopted a decision on moving the clocks forward. But it is not in session at the moment. It resumes its work on 28 January. The subject will be tabled then. There will be further argument over the time question. I will be asked: Were you consulted by your Commonwealth partners over the time change? I will have to say no.

[Pasak] By the way, there is a whole series of questions on this subject from our viewers—how long will this go on?

[Kravchuk] That is the point.

[Semenov] Viktor, do you have any more questions, go ahead. The dialogue is coming to an end.

[Pasak] Yuliy Aleksandrovich, I have a group of questions, since we touched on the subject of economics and went on to the clocks, but I would like to return to the problem of the liberalization of prices. Our viewers are asking again: the Ukraine, once again trying to come to the market, following Russia, has begun economic reform by immediately freeing prices. As Russian Deputy Premier Yegor Gaydar noted at the time, we are already late with this. But any even vaguely literate economist understands that liberalization of prices bears fruit only after privatization and the creation of antimonopoly legislation. And so, a question along these lines: Is it really laid down for us—first make mistakes, and then painfully seek out options for getting out of the situation that arises?

[Kravchuk] Well, there is a reply to this question. I cannot add anything or take anything away, because we, for example, in the Ukraine, planned a broad transition to reforms from 1 April, although this is a peculiar date, but that is the way it was planned. But we were forced. I stress, once again, as with moving the clocks, to take the road of raising, or freeing prices, because there was simply no other way. By the way, since the day life began in the former union, when democratization began and all the rest, we have never completely respected the interests of each other, we have not respected the decisions and resolutions which we ourselves adopted and signed. This is the main reason why we cannot reach agreement. We work to the principle—what you need for yourself, do it without taking account of the interests of others, and for this reason everyone defends his own interests, without adapting to the interests of other states. This is a very dangerous tendency, I think, and is fraught with consequences.

[Pasak] And here is another interesting question from Zaporozhye: A few days ago, Leonid Makarovich, in an address on Ukrainian Television, you quoted remarks by the Russian minister Poltoranin in an interview with the newspaper TRUD, remarks which insult the Ukrainian leadership and the whole of the Ukrainian people. But for some reason we do not hear Mr. Poltoranin making any apologies about this.

[Kravchuk] Well, I don't expect Poltoranin to apologize. I highlighted this Poltoranin affair not because I wanted to get into a debate with him but because he is an official, a member of the Cabinet of Ministers. And as an official he interfered in the internal affairs of another state. I stress that I am not talking about a journalist, but an official. Under all the norms of interstate relations, such an official ought to be immediately removed from his post because he grossly infringed the rights of another state and insulted a president elected by the people of that state. But I see no such actions so far. In our Cabinet of Ministers we have said that Ukrainian officials should refrain from commenting on the politics, from commenting on the actions of other states, because we have to get used to the fact that this is an independent state.

I wonder what the world community would think if Mr. Poltoranin were to comment as forthrightly on France's policies. But, among ourselves, it is not thought of as anything out of the ordinary, as anything abnormal. We have not got used to the idea that these are states, independent states, with public servants elected by the people.

[Semenov] Leonid Makarovich, I read that interview. I understand why it has aroused your wrath. But at the same time we know Poltoranin to be a progressive supporter of reform. The main thrust of his interview was, in fact, the need to fight against people who are holding up reform, opposing it.

[Kravchuk] No, no.

[Semenov] Yes.

[Kravchuk] I cannot agree with that. I repeat—as a citizen Poltoranin could make a statement like that. But he counts as a minister there. Therefore, no matter how much of a democrat he may be, he does not have the right to interfere in the affairs of another state or to judge the actions of the president of another state. I would ask journalists to understand this too, because we are living in different times. To be honest with you, I do not see any difference in the way newspapers of the former center behaved under the Union and the way they do now. They allow themselves to comment on our actions, to bandy the names "Kravchuk" and "Ukraine" all day long.

Let us get things straight. Are we an independent state or part of an empire? If we decide that we are an independent state, we must be guided by that. If we are part of an empire, then of course the empire can treat its parts how it likes.

[Semenov] Leonid Makarovich, all the participants in today's discussion were very well aware that they were talking to the president of independent Ukraine. We realize this. But the time has come for all of us to glance at our watches. I know that you like to play chess in your free time. In other words...

[Kravchuk,interrupting] I invite you.

[Semenov] ... we have very little playing time left. I think this will be the last question. It is one that interests everybody, although I will not read out all the names. The name at the top of the pile is Kravchenko. Here is his question.

How do you see the long-term prospects for the community and your own role in it?

[Kravchuk] I see it as a good prospect, given the one and only condition which I never tire of repeating: Namely, that we should comply with decisions made; that we should respect one another's interests; that we proceed from the premise that what we have to do is to build a very complex commonwealth; that this process of building something new will be difficult and agonizing; and that therefore great tolerance and great respect for one another is required. If that is how things are, then we will certainly build the commonwealth, and will learn to live in it. I have no doubts that in due course we will consolidate our relations. But today, when we are right at the beginning, taking the very first steps on this new road—if we take steps which might turn us back, then that is something new which could sow fear even in this new commonwealth.

[Pasak] Leonid Makarovich, and now the very last question from Kiev. According to the Church calendar today is Epiphany, and according to the astrologists today's cloudy sky in the Ukraine means that we will have a good harvest. I should like to ask you what can you say to everyone—the believers and non-believers who are listening to our program today?

[Kravchuk] January is a month of our Christmas, the old new year, and Epiphany. Many holidays fall at the beginning of the year and I should like to wish all the believers and non-believers, I should like to wish them well, wish them happiness, good health and patience during this leap year. Because this year should become indeed a year in which we are beginning our life under new conditions. And we should learn to live it.

[Semenov] I thank you, I thank my colleagues, thank the viewers for their attention and their phone calls. Goodbye.

[Kravchuk] Goodbye.

President Denies Plan To Withdraw From CIS

OW2001222492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1820 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an exclusive interview with IF [INTERFAX] President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk denied rumors that Ukraine plans to leave the Commonwealth of Independent States in the near future. "At the moment this is not the point", he stressed.

"We simply have a position of principle and believe that all that the Commonwealth leaders have agreed on in Minsk and Alma-Ata should be fully implemented," Kravchuk said.

Speaking about the Ukrainian armed forces issue, Kravchuk noted that positions of the Ukrainian government and people on this key issue coincide.

The Ukrainian leader added: "Sometimes the position of some political figures who cannot perceive calmly processes under way in Ukraine is simply unclear."

Local Councils Demand Government's Resignation

LD1701201592 Moscow TASS in English
1856 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev January 17 TASS— A conference of representatives of regional and city councils today demanded the immediate resignation of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers.

Participants in the conference, held at the republican Supreme Soviet, accused the government of complete inertia and professional inability, and demanded the creation of a new government of national confidence.

The participants expressed their concern over the fact that the extortionate price rise put people in a most grave situation. In their opinion, the government should first carry out de-monopolization and privatization of enterprises, land and housing, take anti-monopoly measures, introduce changes in the law on property and the land code, and revise the taxation policy hampering the development of production.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet chairman Ivan Plushch told the conference he, on the whole, agrees with the proposals. As for the resignation of the government, Plushch believes they should give the Cabinet of Ministers some more time to work but introduce substantial changes in its composition.

Belarus

Delegation To Discuss Relations With PRC

LD1901111592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0745 GMT 19 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Kashirov]

[Text] Beijing, 19 Jan (TASS)—The Chinese capital greeted a governmental delegation from the Republic of Belarus, which arrived on a special flight today for a five-day visit to the PRC, with a bright and sunny morning. The delegation is headed by V.F. Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Belarus.

"It is a great pleasure for me to visit China and I expect that after establishing diplomatic relations and signing economic agreements between the sovereign and independent Republic of Belarus and the People's Republic of China our relations will become closer and more fruitful. We have our interests in China," V.F. Kebich told a TASS correspondent at the steps of a Tu-154 aircraft.

Having noted that he was visiting China for the first time, the head of government expressed confidence that the talks with the delegation headed by him will be successful.

The program of the delegation's stay in the PRC will be discussed with the Chinese side this morning. However, as has become known from the members of the delegation, the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries at the ambassadorial level, and the signing of trade and economic agreements, will become the main issues on the agenda of the Belarussian-Chinese talks. V.F. Kebich will hold the main talks with Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council.

It is expected that the Belarussian governmental delegation will make a trip around the country, in the course of which it will visit, in particular, the first in the PRC economic zone, Shenzhen, in the Chinese province Guangdong.

Belarus is the first independent Commonwealth of Independent States republic that has sent a high governmental delegation on a visit to China before having established diplomatic relations between the two countries. This circumstance has given rise to some protocol and also purely technical problems. Thus, for example, the delegation from Belarus was met at the airport by N.N. Solovyov, ambassador of the Russian Federation. However, for his participation in the measures in connection with the visit by the delegation of V.F. Kebich, a special permission by the PRC Foreign Ministry is required. Soviet correspondents permanently accredited in Beijing also found themselves in special conditions, which complicated work. All of them now represent the mass media of another independent state—the Russian Federation. Therefore, the press department of the PRC Foreign Ministry, monitoring foreign journalists, in every specific case will decide the questions of covering the visit of the Belarussian delegation by Russian correspondents.

Holds Talks With Li Peng

LD2001161192 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 20 Jan 92

[by TASS correspondent Vladimir Kashirov]

[Text] Beijing January 20 TASS—Official talks were held here today between a government delegation of the Belarus Republic, led by chairman of the Belarus Council of Ministers Vyacheslav Kebich, and a government delegation of China, headed by premier of the PRC State Council Li Peng.

The high-ranking Belarus guest was officially welcomed in the central hall of the Chinese parliament before the beginning of the talks. A military band played the national anthems of the two countries. Kebich and Li Peng expected a guard of honour. An artillery solute was fired in honour of the Belarussian premier near the parliament's eastern entrance.

Warmly greeting the Belarus delegation, Li Peng specially noted that it was the first such high-ranking mission to visit China "after the break-up of the Soviet Union and the emergence of several independent republics on its territory".

Members of the Belarussian delegation told TASS that today's talks proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual respect. The sides agreed to promote bilateral relations in trade, economy, science and technology and in other domains. As to political relations, primarily the establishment of diplomatic relations between Belarus and China, the talks were complicated by Beijing's firm stand on Taiwan. The leadership of China objects to any foreign state having political relations with that insular province of the country. Independent Belarus, on the other hand, though recognising China's indivisibility, wanted to include in the joint political declaration a more flexible formulation, allowing it to have other contacts with the Taiwan administration, besides commercial and economic relations. In the long run, the Belarussian delegation withdrew all its objections. Agreed documents, including a statement on the establishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level, are expected to be signed today evening.

Establishes Relations

LD2001213692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1701 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Kashirov]

[Excerpt] Beijing, 20 Jan (TASS)—[passage omitted] After final details were worked out, P.K. Kravchenko, foreign minister of the Republic of Belarus, and Tian Zengpei, PRC vice minister of foreign affairs (Minister of Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen is currently on a foreign trip), this evening signed an agreement on behalf of their governments, establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries at the level of ambassadors. It came into force on the day it was signed. Article 3 of this document says that the government of the PRC is the sole legitimate government, representing all of China. Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the PRC. The Chinese side is resolutely opposed to any attempts or actions aimed at creating "two Chinas," "one China and one Taiwan," "one country with two governments" or an "independent Taiwan." The agreement emphasizes that the Republic of Belarus supports this position of the PRC.

Earlier V.V. Radkevich, chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the Republic of Belarus, and Li Lanqing, PRC minister of foreign economic relations and trade, signed a government agreement on trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. V.F. Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus, and Li Peng, chairman of the PRC State Council, attended the signing ceremony.

The agreement stipulates that both sides promote prolonged and stable development of bilateral economic and trade links and create favorable conditions for the same. They are also to support economic contacts, guided by the principle of equality and mutual advantage.

After the signing ceremony, Li Peng held a reception at the VCNP [Russian acronym: All-China Assembly of People's Representatives] in honor of V.F. Kebich and the members of the delegation of which he was the head. Also invited to the reception was N.N. Solovyev, ambassador of the Russian Federation to the PRC.

Some Russian Troops May Remain in Territory

LD1701192892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1538 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Chairman of the Belarus Supreme Council Stanislav Shushkevich does not rule out the possibility of some Russian Army units remaining on the territory of the Republic after it has created its own armed forces on January 16, Stanislav Shushkevich told PF [POSTFACTUM].

Only those who are unaware of the events underway on the territory of the former Soviet Union may suggest that creating the Belarussian Armed Forces is merely following in the footsteps of what is the current fashion. One should proceed from what is the necessary attributes of an independent state. Army is one of them. But declaring the creation of our own armed forces we take into account the fact that there are by far more forces stationed on the territory of Belarus than we intend to have. It means that it'll be reduced but we'll do it taking our time, step by step.

In the meantime, the Supreme Council decided all the troops stationed in the republic are re-subordinated to the Belarus Council of Ministers. One can't take decisions on the future of officers who want to serve in other republics within a month or even one to three years. Everything should be settled on the basis of good will, Shushkevich believes.

Former KGB Official To Head Customs Body

LD2101102792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1300 GMT 16 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] On January 16 former deputy chairman of the Belarus KGB Gennadiy Shkurd was appointed chairman of the Belarus State Customs Committee.

People's Deputy of the Belarus Supreme Council Leontiy Zdanevich told PF [POSTFACTUM]: We see overt merger of state security bodies with the customs. The opposition is against it. The Supreme Council has also appointed Anatoliy Butevich information minister. Formerly he was a chairman of the State Committee for Publishing and in 1989-1991—deputy head of the Belarus Communist Party Central Committee ideological department.

The Information Ministry was established by the Supreme Council resolution of January 11, 1992 on the basis of the state committees for radio and television and for publishing.

Government To Incease Prices on Some Foods

LD1801000292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2200 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] The Belarus Government has adopted a decision on raising state-regulated prices for rye and wheat bread, milk, sour cream, cottage cheese, and soft cheeses threefold; children's milk, vegetables, and fruit two-fold; and butter five-fold. As for high-grade bread, dry milk, canned milk, and hard cheeses, they will be sold at free retail prices. The decision take effect 20 January.

Kazakhstan

UK's Hurd, Nazarbayev Hold Talks 18 Jan

LD2001225192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1932 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Alma-Ata, 18 Jan [KAZTAG-TASS]—Douglas Hurd, Great Britain's minister for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, arrived today on an official visit in the capital of Kazakhstan. During a brief interview with the press at the airport, he expressed his hopes for rapid achievement of mutual understanding and expansion of economic and political cooperation with Kazakhstan. He was met by the president of the republic, Nursultan Nazarbayev.

Today, Douglas Hurd held talks with Kazakhstan's leaders. Kazakhstan aspires to rid itself of nuclear weapons, but this will require a great deal of time, President Nazarbayev told journalists at a news conference on the results of the talks. Nursultan Nazarbayev noted that during the conversation with the representative of Great Britain they discussed aspects of the armed forces of the former USSR, nuclear weapons, and also a wide range of political and economic issues. Douglas Hurd expressed the willingness of Great Britain for the quickest development of political and economic relations with Kazakhstan.

On 20 January, Douglas Hurd will meet Kazakhstan's foreign minister, after which he will depart for Kiev.

Meets Foreign Minister

LD1901211192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1659 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] On January 19, Kazakhstan Foreign Minister Tolevtay Suleymenov met with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

Tolevtay Suleymenov and Douglas Hurd made a statement in connection with both states' intention to develop political, economic and scientific links based on the principles of mutual understanding, friendship and cooperation. The statement says, in particular, that the two sides affirm their objective to establish diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors and welcome the prospect of Kazakhstan's becoming a UN member.

Nazarbayev Views Black Sea Fleet Conflict

PM1701162592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 3

[Colonel A. Ladin report under "Direct Line" rubric: "President Nazarbayev Expresses Dissatisfaction Over Conflict Around Black Sea Fleet. Kazakhstan Supports Joint Armed Forces"]

[Text] Alma-Ata— In a television interview Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev has expressed his dissatisfaction over the conflict between Russia and the Ukraine over the Black Sea Fleet. In his opinion, this problem can be solved politically.

In Nazarbayev's words, an accord has been reached in a meeting with Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov that allows citizens of Kazakhstan serving in other sovereign states and being forced to take oaths of allegiance to one state or another to return to Kazakhstan to continue their service there.

The president also stressed that all the countries of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] who support the creation of joint Armed Forces, which includes Kazakhstan, should do everything to establish guarantees of social protection in this difficult time for servicemen so troops fulfill their military duty with assurance.

Executive Power Increased in Structure Change

LD2001205892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The structure of power has been changed in Kazakhstan. Executive power has been significantly strengthened there. Soviets of all levels lost their executive committees. In oblasts they will be replaced by administrators who represent the president, and in towns and rayons they will be replaced by administrators representing a higher soviet.

Prime Minister Meets Striking Coal Miners

LD1701200792 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Excerpt] At the Karaganda coalfields in Kazakhstan, 10 mines are idle. The strikers demand that 15 percent of the coal turned out be left with them, and that wages be raised to 15,000 rubles a month.

When meeting with the miners on Thursday [16 January], the prime minister of the republic, Sergey Tereshchenko, called on them to resume work. The prime minister believes that the way to overcome the conflict is throught making the mines joint-stock associations, and giving them the right to conduct dealings on the market themselves. [passage omitted]

'Compromise Solution' Found

LD1701160992 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1000 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Yesterday, it finally proved possible to find a compromise solution with the workforces of the striking mines. The major Tentekskaya mine, one of the main suppliers of coking coal for the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine, stood idle for exactly five weeks. In the past few days, Tentekskaya has been supported by another nine mines of the region. The overall damage from the strike exceeds 40 million rubles [R].

At the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine, two blast furnaces were halted while two others were operating but in a slowdown. The metal workers quote losses in excess of R110 million. It will require at least two weeks, if not several months, for the mines to get back to normal working conditions.

The above-mentioned irreplaceable losses were analyzed yesterday at the 10th unscheduled session of the oblast soviet with the participation of Sergey Tereshchenko, prime minister of the republic. Again, accusations were made against the strikers of not understanding economic complexities, of a lack of patriotism, of a lack of will to work. Only at the end of the session, when the members of the government commission again sat down at the negotiating table with the leaders of the republic's government, when satisfactory solutions were set out on all points of the demands—only then did the Joint Strike Committee work out a document on suspending the strike and resuming work at the striking mines today.

Work at Most Mines Resumes

LD1701192692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] As a result of strenuous negotiations between the head of the Kazakh Government and striking miners, nine of the 10 striking pits in Karaganda have resumed work. The miners have been allowed to sell a sixth part of their coal at a free price, and the miners' wages have been raised two-threefold.

The recent industrial action in the Karaganda pits has inflicted a 40-million ruble damage on the national economy, for the striking pits failed to produce 130,000 tonnes of coal.

Tajikistan

Economic Agreement Signed With Cuba

LD1701220292 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By correspondent Hurmat Adel]

[Excerpts] An economic agreement between Tajikistan and Cuba was signed today in Dushanbe City. The agreement covers many fields and is valid for five years. The agreement was signed by Mirzoyev, Tajikistan's foreign economic relations minister, and Ricardo Cabrisas Ruiz, Cuba's minister of foreign economic relations. [passage omitted]

The head of the Cuban delegation stated that cooperation can now be developed in two fields—the sugar industry and health care. [passage omitted]

Armed Afghan Group Clashes With Border Guard

OW1701182892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Last night there was an armed clash on the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. Deputy chief of the Pandj frontier post Sergey Muvshev died in the action. One of the trespassers was also killed.

The clash between frontier guards and a group of armed Afghans who had infiltrated Tajikistan occurred about midnight.

According to the frontier guards, 7 trespassers had crossed the River Pianj to steal fuel and spare parts. They managed to dismantle the pumping station of a local collective farm. However their attempts to take their loot to the other side of the river were frustrated by the frontier guards.

The trespassers are still on Tajik soil. The border guards supported by helicopters and armoured vehicles are continuing to search for them.

'Bandits' Leave Border Area

LD1801161292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1510 GMT 18 Jan 92

[By correspondent Sergey Ostankin]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan (TASS)—The rest of the group of bandits from Afghanistan, who opened machine-gun fire on a border control unit, have left Tajikistan.

A TASS correspondent was told at the press center of the border control troops that the Afghans did not manage to pillage the local collective farm. After the confrontation in the area of Pandj border control unit, the Afghans took refuge in thick reeds.

Communists Committed to Marxism-Leninism

LD1901195292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1155 GMT 19 Jan 92

[By TADZHIKTA correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 19 Jan (TASS)— An extraordinary congress of the communists of Tajikistan that ended today reaffirmed their adherence to Marxist-Leninist ideology and to socialist values.

By an overwhelming majority, the delegates reversed an earlier resolution, adopted at the first stage of the congress in September last year, on renaming the party as a socialist party and restored its former name. There was also an unambiguous statement that the Communist Party advocates unity of ranks and will not permit the creation of any "opportunistic factions" within it. The congress spoke resolutely in favor of the return of party property and of party committee buildings to their former owners, "apart from those that were previously handed over to the people voluntarily by the Communists."

The delegates elected a Central Committee for the party. Shodi Abdulov, one of the secretaries of the former Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, was elected leader of the Tajik Communists.

Nabiyev Decrees Social Security for Students

LD2101031692 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1800 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Decree by the Tajikistan president on additional measures on social security for students, the former internationalist soldiers, pensioners, and other poor groups of the population:

In view of the introduction of price liberalization and the need for social security for students, the former internationalist soldiers, as well as pensioners and other poor groups of the population of the republic, I resolve:

1. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Tajikistan Republic, the oblast, town, and rayon executive committees are instructed to adopt and implement measures on the social security for students, post graduates, and students of special secondary schools as well as the former internationalist students, pensioners, and other poor groups of the republic's population. At the same time, they should envisage a number of measures, including the free use of transportation in towns except taxis, reduction in air fares, and awarding meal allowances to students on the [words indistinct].

2. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Tajikistan Republic is advised to reduce the number of employees in the republican administration by up to 30 percent. The funds saved by this should be allocated to measures envisaged in the first article of this decree.

3. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Tajikistan Republic, the oblast, town, and rayon executive committees should (?find) the additional sources of funds in the republican and local budgets and allocate them to implement the measures for the social security of students, the former internationalist soldiers, pensioners, and other poor groups envisaged in this decree. Other privileges and allowances should be envisaged for them in accordance with the amount of funds in the republican and local budgets.

[Signed] Rakhman Nabiyev, the president of the republic of Tajikistan, city of Dushanbe

[Dated] 20 January 1992

Nabiyev Orders Solutions to High Food Prices

LD1801222392 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0120 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Rakhman Nabiyev, president of Tajikistan, is continuing his tour of the republic. He visited Dangara Rayon on 13 January and met with heads of local soviets, heads of enterprises of the agro-industrial complex, heads of local trade unions, and local intellectuals. [passage omitted]

After the tour, at a meeting with heads of ministries and departments responsible for the supply of foodstuffs to the population, he voiced his view on the socioeconomic situation in the localities. The president voiced concern that people are increasingly showing discontent toward the introduction of price liberalization. In his view, the situation is getting more difficult because in some places officials have not fixed the maximum limit on regulatory prices. Trade organizations sell the same goods with different prices. This causes anger and indignation among the consumers and also mistrust toward law enforcement bodies.

Nabiyev demanded that the Cabinet of Ministers and the Ministry of Commerce in particular urgently solve all problems arising during this complex period. The president said that even if we have insufficient experience in this work we ought to find the ways and means of decreasing prices, especially the prices of essential consumer goods.

The meeting also examined issues concerning violations of trade regulations. In recent times, the law enforcement bodies are increasingly tackling incidents of hoarding goods which are then sold at higher prices. The president called for more supervision in exposing criminal acts in trade. Confiscated goods ought to be sold to poor people and labor collectives. The audience approved the proposals by the president.

In conclusion, Rakhman Nabiyev stressed the unity of all the healthy forces of the society to tackle complex social and economic problems of the republic. All reasonable proposals on overcoming the crisis ought to be studied.

The meeting was attended by Kenjayev, Supreme Soviet chairman; Dustov, vice president; and Khairulloyev, deputy prime minister.

Nabiyev Introduces New Prime Minister

LD1801055592 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1600 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] Today, a meeting of officials of the apparatus of the Cabinet of Ministers, with the participation of the heads of the ministries, state committees, and the departments of the republic of Tajikistan was held. President Nabiyev introduced the new Tajikistan Prime Minister Mirzoyev, recently appointed at a session of the Supreme Soviet, and congratulated him on his appointment to this important state position and wished him success. The president then dealt with the main directions of the activities of the workers of the apparatus of the government, ministries, departments, and other state structures of the republic. Speaking about the coordination of the work of the economic bodies in the republic and the corresponding bodies of the sovereign states making up the Commonwealth of Independent States, he attached particular attention to the development and deepening of mutual relations with the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Special importance is attached to all-around relations of Tajikistan with fraternal, neighboring Uzbekistan.

Uzbekistan

Reportage Highlights Tashkent Student Riots

Students Demand President Resign

OW1701131892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1203 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] In Tashkent students staged mass riots last night. They broke windows and overturned several cars.

The police and riot police units despatched to disperse the demonstrators were met with a shower of stones. Shots were fired. A number of policemen and students were wounded.

IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent has been told by demonstrators that last night many students were detained. The authorities declined to reveal the number of those who were detained or hurt.

Student riots were preceded by an unauthorized meeting staged Thursday [16 January] evening in the student campus in protest against the absence of bread in the local shop. The meeting gathered students from the Technical University, State University and medical college. Speakers declared that students were cast below the poverty line. They called for the resignation of Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov and his cabinet.

On Friday [17 January] a group of students intends to go on a hunger strike in protest against detentions.

Members of the president's press service believe that the unrest in the student campus was a deliberate provocation organized by forces wishing to destabilize life in Uzbekistan for the purpose of compromising the economic policy pursued by President Islam Karimov and his cabinet.

1 Dead, 500 Arrested

OW1701180392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] During the dispersal of a spontaneous student demonstration in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, during the night from Thursday [16 January] to Friday [17 January] one student from a technical university was killed, two more are in critical condition and more than ten were seriously wounded. According to unverified sources, the student's name was Sandzhar Kasymov. The chairman of the Union of Free Youth from the Tashkent state university, Andrey Karimov told an INTERFAX correspondent that about 500 people were arrested; lists of those arrested are still being compiled.

On Friday [17 January] in the student village a mourning demonstration is being held. A delegation of students have sent to Uzbek President Karimov, demands for an independent investigation into the night's events and for a guarantee of social insurance for those who participated in the demonstration. All approaches to the student village are surrounded by a ring of police and OMON [special purpose militia detachment] special forces, three men thick.

The unsanctioned meeting was preceeded by numerous student speeches on Thursday evening, the reason being a lack of bread in the store at the student village.

Participants in the meeting and demonstration told INTERFAX that shooting broke out on Thursday at around 21:00, when about ten thousand students from various technical institutes in Tashkent were headed towards the center of the city where all government buildings are located.

The chairman of the Union of Free Youth from the Tashkent State University, Karimov, stated that during the night OMON special forces broke into dormitories, where they indiscriminately took hold of students and threw them into buses. Even girls who had not participated in the meeting were thrown out on the street in their nightshirts.

According to other information, spontaneous meetings are happening in other regions of Tashkent.

Second Student Dead

OW1701204292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [17 January] after sundown police and OMON [special purpose militia detachment] troops undertook an attempt to disperse a spontaneous student rally. INTERFAX reports that shooting, including automatic weapons bursts, are heard on university campus near the Biruni metro station. The campus is surrounded by the police. All day long there has been a rally protesting the current price rise. 12 students are on a hunger strike, demanding the release of the detained students and a live TV appearance.

A second student died in hospital as a result of injuries received during the dispersal of a demonstration on Friday night. There are unconfirmed reports that on the same night died a student hostel employee who sought to prevent the OMON police from entering the building.

By students' estimates, around 50 students and 20 policemen were injured, and 100 to 500 students were detained.

The rally was preceded by a spontaneous rally on Thursday [16 January] evening after the price of a dinner at the student cafeteria had been raised to 15 to 17 rubles, and there is a shortage of bread on the campus shop.

Uzbekistan's popular movement supported the students and denounced what it described as "a murderous action of the authorities." It is emphasized that the Popular Democratic Party of Uzbekistan, the successor to the Communist Party, inherited its modus operandi [words indistinct] and terror.

Commission Formed To Investigate

LD1801160192 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0300 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Excerpts] We have received this news from UZTAG. [passage omitted]

The leaders of the Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet have formed a Republican Commission in order to quickly tackle the questions related to the investigation of the real causes of the unrest, to bring those responsible to trial, and to draw conclusions from the investigation of these questions in the light of the events that have occurred. Uzbekistan Prime Minister Mutalov is chairing the commission. The full composition of the commission will be published in the press. The commission has been instructed to thoroughly investigate the (?causes) of the unrest and provide within two weeks its accurate conclusions and proposals for removing the conflicts under the (?current) difficult conditions.

Situation Returning to 'Normal'

LD1801181392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Correspondent M. Ganiyev report from Tashkent, including recorded remarks by Uzbek Prime Minister A.M. Mutalov made in his office on 18 January; from the "Novosti" newscast presented by Irina Mishina]

[Text] [Mishina] Last night there were renewed clashes in Tashkent between students and public order forces. The students are demanding lower prices, social protection, and higher grants. Today the participants in the rallies were joined by students of the medical institutes.

[Ganiyev] Today the situation is returning to normal at the Tashkent campus. A rally was held today by students of the medical institutes, while the students of the university and of the polytechnical university are being sent home, free of charge, in an organized fashion for an extra holiday. Trade outlets are being repaired. Meals and foodstuffs now are being sold to students here at previous prices. The so-called student strike committee is holding talks at the extraordinary commisson that has been been set up.

[Mutalov] All demands expressed by the students will be examined by this commission. Measures will be taken promptly. Already now we have, in fact, drawn up a work plan for the commission. The comrades have received specific instructions.

Karimov Blames 'Destructive Forces'

LD1901195492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov has voiced his profound condolences over the death of the student (Sandzhar Radzhabov) during the tragic events in Tashkent on 16 January. Speaking at a rally of the city's public in the capital of Uzbekistan, Karimov stated that the disturbances among student youths were provoked by destructive forces who do not like the creative policy of the present leadership of the republic. The true causes of the mass disturbances will be identified and those to blame will receive due punishment.

Telegram Sent to Commonwealth Leaders

OW1901182892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The presidium of the Birlik [Popular Movement of Uzbekistan] central council sent telegrams to all Commonwealth presidents in which it says "The former communist regime, and now the People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan, continue to violate human rights in spite of the fact that Uzbekistan has ratified the human rights declaration and other Commonwealth documents." The presidium expresses the hope that "the Commonwealth of Independent States will rise in defence of the peoples of Uzbekistan oppressed by the dictatorial regime".

Authorities To 'Deport' 3,000 Students

LD2001020692 Moscow Teleradiodkompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2112 GMT 19 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" Newscast]

[Text] Uzbekistan authorities have made a decision to deport from the capital 3,000 students of the Agriculture and Technology University after their attempt to organize a meeting at the central square this morning. This was reported by INTERFAX. According to the agency, disturbances have started at another high education establishment in Uzbekistan: the Institute of Literature. Student disturbances were caused by higher prices.

Statement Criticizes Unrest 'Organizers'

LD2001115792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1025 GMT 20 Jan 92

[By unidentified UZTAG-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tashkent, 20 Jan (TASS)—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan has stated that the mass student unrest in Tashkent reflects "the desire of a few people who consider themselves citizens of Uzbekistan to discredit their own republic in the eyes of the world community and wreck the positive processes on the path toward the emergence of our independent state."

A statement issued today by the Presidium says the organizers of the unrest "took advantage of slow payment of grants and issue of coupons and delays in importing bread" and involved some of the students in "illegal actions that degenerated into rioting [massovyye besporyadki], pogroms, and the burning down of facilities provided for the benefit of the students themselves."

The students, says the document, were insufficiently informed about the measures for the social protection of the population that are being taken by the republic's leadership during the transition to a market economy.

The statement adds that those who are behind the student unrest "are unhappy about the policy of national reconciliation that we are implementing and the determined efforts of the leadership of the republic to consolidate society on the path to genuine independence. They would dearly like to produce dissention among the people, sow disaffection, and occupy places in the structures of power in order to do their dirty work on a still larger scale."

The Supreme Soviet Presidium denounced "the intrigues of the political provocateurs" and called on all citizens to "show a high sense of responsbility, endurance, and patience, and by their personal contribution to do everything possible to help to strengthen the independence of Uzbekistan."

President 'Disturbed' Over Events

LD2101025992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Tashkent, our correspondent reports, was relatively calm today. An address by the Uzbekistan parliament has today dubbed yesterday's student disturbances the intrigues of political provocateurs.

[Unidentified correspondent] Last Sunday, 19 January, Karimov, president of Uzbekistan, spoke on republican television. He presented the official point of view of the tragic events of 16-17 January in Tashkent. The president, who had always spoken confidently in the past, was considerably disturbed on this occasion as he appealed to the consciences of his political adversaries. It was the first time he had spoken well of the opposition, the Birlik People's Movement, when he stressed that this organization does not engage in filthy provocation like some individuals who are invested with power. However, he laid the blame for what has happened on the grouping that opposes him. Iron rods, stones, explosive devices, pistols—all of these were prepared for 10 December of last year but at that time the demonstration failed to come off. On 16 January, however, people in leather coats and fur hats were able to provoke clashes.

Karimov Holds News Conference

LD2101045792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] After three days of students' disturbances, the situation in Tashkent's students' village is stabilizing. Following the extention of the holidays to 10 February, a considerable number of the New Year students were transported out of the capital by bus to the oblast during the weekend. Here is the point of view of President Islam Karimov, who held a news conference today.

[Correspondent M. Ganiyev] [passage omitted] The main reasons for the tragedy worry not only the inhabitants of the republic today. Replying to journalists' questions, Uzbek President Islam Karimov said that this is a continuation of the political struggle. Destructive, conservative forces have taken advantage of the liberalization of prices and have brought the students—in this case, the most unprotected section of the population—into this struggle. The demonstrations by the young people were prepared behind our backs. The opposition-in-hiding would like to see the model of bloody feuding for power, which was evident in Tbilisi, in Uzbekistan. He said: Give me six months of tranquility and of work, and we will show a better prospect and will provide a better life for the people.

Yesterday, at a meeting with the city's public, Karimov stated that he is now permitting the registration of all political parties and movements, the publication of newspapers and magazines, and statements by the media.

Karimov Says Protest 'Preplanned'

LD2101110592 Moscow TASS in English 0951 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By UZTAG correspondent]

[Text] Tashkent January 21 TASS - Uzbek President Islam Karimov stated late on Monday [20 January] students' unrest in Tashkent was not a spontaneous protest against the introduction of free market prices, but a "preplanned action".

The scenario of the Tashkent developments resembles that of the Fergana tragedy (in June, 1989, when nearly one hundred people were killed and many wounded as a result of clashes between Uzbeks and Meskhetian Turks), the president told a press conference. "The forces of destabilisation are trying to block democratic reforms, to spread discord and cause unrest, which may result in interethnic clashes", Karimov explained.

Speaking of the future of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the president said it can survive only if it works on the basis of mutual benefit and equality. "The leaders of some sovereign republics should drop their imperial ambitions", including their attitude to the Armed Forces, Karimov stated.

Karimov Calls For Price Coordination

LD2101124892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Uzbek President Islam Karimov has called for the establishment of a permanent interregional committee for price coordination. The disconnected actions by states that were formerly economically interrelated are now having a detrimental effect on the social conditions of peoples' lives. In particular, the lack of a unified approach to the valuation of goods in the Central Asian republics is creating difficulties on the consumer market, where prices are becoming limitless rather than just free.

Armenia

Violation of Gamsakhurdia Agreement Denied

LD1801051392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] The authorities of Armenia have strived and continue to strive to stabilize the situation in Georgia, to seek effective ways out of the crisis, to restore peace and calm in that fraternal republic, Ashot Manucharyan, chief adviser of the president of Armenia on national security, stated last night. He held a news conference devoted to the nine-day stay by Zviad Gamsakhurdia in Armenia and the circumstances of his departure. Having rejected accusations that Armenia allegedly violated the agreement on not permitting Gamsakhurdia to leave the Republic, Manucharyan affirmed at the same time that the Georgian opposition had made such a request to the Armenian authorities. We received that request with understanding, as the desire of the opposition to preserve stability in Georgia, he said. However, we stated that we cannot restrict the movement of Zviad Gamsakhurdia and thereby violate international norms and liberties.

Shelling Kills Parliamentarian in Stepanakert

OW2001164692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A member of Armenia's parliament, 44-year-old Vigen Shirinyan, was killed on Sunday [19 January] in Stepanakert (or Khankendi, as the Azerbaijanis call Nagorno-Karabakh's administrative center). Azerbaijani militants were shelling the city, and a shell exploded near him.

According to the news agency SNARK, V. Shirinyan was a member of the parliamentary commission on the issues of independence, statehood and national policy. He was also a member of the special commission on the affairs of Artsakh (the Armenian name for Nagorno-Karabakh).

V. Shirinyan was born in the village of Chldran, Mardakert region, Nagorno-Karabakh. His 6 children are now orphans.

Border Situation 'Tense'; Gas Cut Expected

NC1801213192 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1720 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] The situation is tense on the border between Idzhevanskiy, in Armenia, and Kazakhskiy, in Azerbaijan. Gunfire exchange continues across the border zone. Homes have been set on fire in one Azerbaijani village and the Azerbaijanis are blaming the Armenians. Many believe that the Azerbaijanis are accusing the Armenians of setting the homes on fire to have a pretext to cut the gas pipeline.

20 Train Passengers Kidnapped in Azerbaijan

NC1801213692 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1930 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Due to damage to tracks in western Georgia, the Tbilisi-Moscow train left for Moscow through Azerbaijan on 12 January. Once in Azerbaijan, the train was stopped three times. Eyewitnesses report that during one of the stops, militiamen and representatives of the Azerbaijani People's Front inspected passengers' identity cards. The inspection at Akstafa was conducted by a militiaman named Mamedov.

During the 13 January inspections, 20 Armenian passengers, among them women, were taken off the train. Their whereabouts are not yet known.

Armenian leaders have asked Azerbaijani authorities to clarify the incident, which Azerbaijani authorities blame on the Azerbaijani People's Front. Representatives of the Front, however, are claiming that the government carried out the operation.

Azerbaijan Asked To Explain

LD2001183392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Armenia has asked Azerbaijani authorities for an explanation of the disappearance of 20 Armenian citizens on Azerbaijani territory. According to Armenian radio, they were on a Tbilisi-Moscow train passing through Azerbaijani territory on 12 January. Armenian radio said that the republic's militia and People's Front representatives halted the train three times. During one of the stops 20 Armenian pasengers were taken off. Since then, their whereabouts have been unknown.

Army Commander Denies Involvement in Conflict

NC1901215892 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1930 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] (Mesheyakov), the commander of the 7th Army stationed in Armenia, has said no 7th Army servicemen has taken part in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.

Commenting on claims made by the mass media and Azerbaijani press that Armenia is using the helicopters belonging to army subunits stationed in Armenia to collect intelligence and transport arms to the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, (Mesheyakov) said that due to the fuel shortage the helicopters cannot even make scheduled flights. The commander's helicopter, he said, has just enough fuel to fly from Yerevan to Kumayri, a distance of 100 km.

Azerbaijan

Nagorno-Karabakh Proclaims Independence

OW1901182492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic proclaimed independence at a session of the January 18 republican Supreme Soviet session in the city of Stepanakert (Azeri name Khankendi). The parliament also enacted a law on the Supreme Soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, a state entity that had been proclaimed by the Armenian leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh but had not been recognized by Azerbaijan.

On Sunday [19 January] the session will address the issue of state flag and emblem.

Shooting continued in Nagorno-Karabakh and neighboring Azeri areas on Saturday [18 January] and Sunday. The shooting was particularly intensive near the Armenian village of Karachinar in the Geranboi (Armenian name Shaumyan) region of Azerbaijan.

Majlis Adopts Law on State Border

LD1901230892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2200 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] A report from Baku: The state border of Azerbaijan is determined by a decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic and by international treaties concluded and ratified by the Azerbaijan Republic. The guarding of the land border is entrusted to the border guard and the guarding of the air space to antiaircraft troops. This is stated, in part, in a law on the state border of the Azerbaijan Republic. It was adopted by the National Majlis, the so-called small parliament of the republic, to which some of the executive functions of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan have been transferred for the transitional period.

The Majlis has recommended to the Cabinet of Ministers that talks be begun with contiguous states, including those with access to the Caspian Sea, to conclude interstate treaties on border issues. For some border sections it is proposed to appoint Azerbaijani border representatives and to set up checkpoints and customs posts. The law does not say which troop units of the Commonwealth of Independent States or Azerbaijan are entrusted with guarding the state border of the Republic.

Troops Dispatch to Baku in 1990 Found Illegal

LD1801180392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1457 GMT 18 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Natan Barskiy]

[Text] Baku, 18 Jan (TASS)—Bringing in troops in Baku on 19 and 20 January 1990 contradicted the constitution of the former USSR and the constitution of Azerbaijan. The announcement of a state of emergency in Baku and the cruel invasion by the armed forces, which caused numerous victims among the civilian population, also had no legal foundation. This is stated in the conclusions of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Commission investigating the circumstances and causes of the tragic events in those days. The Commission has completed its work, qualifying these actions as a crime against the Azerbaijani people.

This action, which resulted in 131 people killed, 744 people injured, and four people missing, was deliberately planned and cynically carried out as punitive, the conclusions of the Commission say.

According to the commission members, the main culprit of those events, along with the specific organizers and executors, is the totalitarian Communist system and its embodiment in the person of the CPSU oligarchy leadership, the central authorities of the former USSR, KGB, and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the party-state propaganda machine.

Use of Force in Nagorno-Karabakh Condemned

PM2101113392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jan 92 p 3

[Article by correspondent Major A. Stasovskiy: "Let Them Argue With Words, Not Bullets"]

[Text] I recently heard a colleague say: Everyone is tired of reports from the front in Nagorno-Karabakh, people being killed or wounded all the time... Are we gradually becoming accustomed, I wondered, to a situation where there is trouble in the territory of a country that was united not so long ago, where in some regions people are being shot and death is reaping a substantial "harvest" of human lives?

But can one get used to human pain, suffering, and grief, which distort people's faces beyond all recognition, and drive them to do reckless things?

And this recklessness could be repeated over and over in the territories of the sovereign republics of the former Union. In our hearts we are aware of the need for political level-headedness and justice for all states. But we are silently waiting for the political transformations, which increasingly take on an ethnic hue, to bring someone some relief. Is that not the road to new Karabakhs?

Who is responsible for the well-being of the proud and haughty peoples of Nagorno-Karabakh? It used to be said that the internal forces of the former USSR were an obstacle to the solution of the very complex contradictions. Well, they did what they could to douse the emotional flames. And in so doing suffered themselves and sustained irreplaceable losses that were not justified by any decrees or regulations. Certainly, one felt that the officers and men with their blue collar tabs and shoulder boards were a foreign body amid the extremely confused and complex events. So they left. One might applaud or one might condemn their departure. Anyway, it is not for the troops to resolve the problem. Only the goodwill of the peoples and the politicians' level-headedness will bring the long-awaited result we so badly need and remove the pain we all feel, the pain that threatens to spread and pit father against son, brother against brother...

The Internal Troops have left. Units of the former Soviet Army previously stationed in the region remain. Worn out by the heavy burden of the undeclared war, not participating in the conflict but not protected either, they have long since been foreigners among those who were supposedly their own and they are patiently awaiting their fate.

In the meantime... In the meantime, we have in front of us two photographs. As it were, silent witnesses of sad events. And dry lines to the effect that population centers in Nagorno-Karabakh continue to be bombarded. How important it is for us to finally realize that people are suffering, their homes are being destroyed, children, old people, and women are being killed. What are they guilty of? The fact that certain people are bent on tackling any dispute by reckless use of force, when they could be using words. Words, which are the best argument in a dispute. But, alas, it is the submachine guns and artillery that have done the talking so far.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Spurs Supporters To Rebel; Flees

Turkish Border Forces on Alert

LD1701132292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" Newscast]

[Text] The new authorities in Georgia have accused the Armenian Government of violating the agreement that President Gamsakhurdia not be allowed to return to Georgia. His return could provoke a civil war.

Today government troops continued to move toward Zugdidi where Gamsakhurdia has gone into hiding.

The appearance of former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has once again caused unrest in the Republic. Yesterday in Zugdidi Gamsakhurdia announced the creation of the independent republic of western Georgia and called on his assembled supporters for a crusade against Tbilisi. In their turn, the authorities of Abkhazia said they will not participate in any talks on creating a Mengril-Abkhaz republic.

A state of emergency was announced in Kutaisi yesterday and a curfew is in force. Telephone links have been cut between Tbilisi and western Georgia. Gasakhurdia's supporters are picketing the main transport routes. All roads are blocked. The Military Council in Tbilisi has taken corresponding measures in response. An order has been announced putting troops on mobilization alert. Some units have already been sent to western Georgia. At this time the Turkish state security forces have been put onto heightened combat alert on the border with Georgia.

Calls For Crusade Denied

LD1701231292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Telephone report by IPRINDA News Agency reporter Tengiz Oblotiya from Tbilisi]

[Text] Zviad Gamsakhurdia has returned to Georgia. Since the moment he settled in Izhdevan, Georgians have been completely ignorant of his short-term plans. However, the appearance of the president in Zugdidi surprised no one. They long expected this. The opposition realized that the president, who has refused to abandon his powers, would resurface sooner or later and turn up among his supporters. The latter, in turn, speculated that Gamsakhurdia would come back to give them a powerful moral impetus in their fight for the reinstatement of presidential power.

The 16 January rally in Zugdidi caused many rumors and much speculation. Russian television reported that at that rally Zviad Gamsakhurdia called for a so-called Megrelo-Abkhaz Republic to be created. This is false information. There was no such call at the rally. Nor were there any negotiations regarding the establishment of such a state. Furthermore, Gamsakhurdia did not even speak at that rally. Nor was there any call for an immediate crusade against Tbilisi, although the president's supporters do not deny the possibility of armed actions.

The opposition is trying to convene the People's Assembly, which would organize new elections and hand over ruling powers to the interim government.

In connection with the sharp deterioration of the political situation and difficulties related to the attempts to get out of the crisis, most political parties are gradually reaching the view that the reinstatement of a constitutional monarchy may ensure stabilization of the situation and the establishment of democracy in the future in Georgia. As everyone knows, the leadership of the interim government states that it believes the monarchy to be the best political system for Georgia. Georgiy Bagrationi, heir to the throne, who now lives in Malaga, Spain, has agreed to return to Georgia. Admittedly, these is a very beautiful, albeit remote, prospect. Current reality demonstrates increasing confrontation between President Gamsakhurdia's supporters and opponents.

State of Emergency Declared

LD1701184792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1652 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Curfew lasting from 9 P.M. till 7 A.M. has been introduced in Kutaisi on January 16. A state of emergency has been declared in western Georgia. Georgian TV reported that in line with the proposal of Tengiz Sigua, head of the provisional government of the Republic, on January 16, the Military Council postponed elections to Sakrebulo boards (local government bodies) and restored the posts of local representatives of the Military Council.

May Speak at Rally

OW1701133692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1203 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the past few days the situation in Western Georgia has been quiet, no incidents or clashes have occurred, an "IF" [INTERFAX] correspondent was told at the Georgian Ministry of the Interior's press center In Kutaisi, since the introduction of an extreme situation status in the city on Thursday [16 January], in the first days after President in exile Zviad Gamsakhurdia fled from Tbilisi there have been no demonstrations by his supporters.

According to the press center, Gamsakhurdia's supporters are planning a demonstration in Poti (on the Georgian coast of the Black Sea) on Friday [17 January]. It is possible that the president himself may speak there.

In Abkhazia, the press center reported, according to a decree by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the autonomous republic, all meetings and demonstrations are illegal. In the republic, Gamsakhurdia's supporters have constantly held demonstrations since January 6th, the day he departed Tbilisi.

In addition to this, the Military Council of Georgia passed a decision on Thursday in which it called the attempt to hold a referendum on January 19th on the territory of South Ossetia "a cruel attempt to destroy the territorial wholeness of a sovereign state." Two questions will be clarified by the referendum. The first, "Do you agree that the Republic of South Ossetia should be independent?" The second question is, "Do you agree with the decision made by the Supreme Soviet of the independent Republic of Ossetia taken on September 1, 1991 on unification with Russia?"

The Military Council once again called for a speedy start to Georgian-Ossetian negotiations with interested sides also participating as observers of the norms of international law.

Rally Held in Zugdidi 17 Jan

AU1701214992 Paris AFP in English 2000 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Christopher Boian report]

[Text] Zugdidi, Georgia, Jan 17 (AFP)—Several hundred supporters of ousted president Zviad Gamsakhurdia rallied here Friday [17 January] and said similar meetings were being held in other parts of western Georgia, including Kutaisi, where clashes were said to have left four injured. But they they denied reports that Gamsakhurdia had declared civil war in the republic.

Meanwhile, the whereabouts of the deposed Georgian leader remained unclear and officials close to him said only that he was "in the area" and hoped to address supporters as soon as possible.

Walter Shurgaya [name as received], a member of Gamsakhurdia's team, denied reports published in Moscow according to which the ousted president had called for civil war during a speech to supporters here on Thursday. "Some people had expected him to appear at the rally but in the end he was not even there," Shurgaya said.

Gamsakhurdia returned to the western Georgian port of Sukhumi late Wednesday from Armenia where he had sought refuge after being toppled from power.

Shurgaya and other pro-Gamsakhurdia activists said that forces loyal to the new government in Tbilisi had opened fire on a peaceful pro-Gamsakhurdia demonstration held in the western city of Kutaisi earlier Friday. "An armed band connected with the junta began to shoot at the peaceful demonstrators, wounding several people," Shurgaya told a group of reporters at the prefect headquarters here.

A number of people present at the demonstration here said they had witnessed the alleged shootings in Kutaisi earlier, adding that four persons had been wounded. The witnesses said several aircraft flew overhead during the protest in Kutaisi and Shurgaya said the situation there was "very dangerous", but gave no further details. Leaders of the new regime in Tbilisi were reported to have sent troops to Kutaisi.

Meanwhile, around 300 people, some holding candles, gathered in front of the prefect's building here shouting "Zviad, Zviad." Some held banners bearing the slogans "Down with the putschists" and "Down with the traitors to the Georgian nation."

Gamsakhurdia Said Doomed

OW1801004492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2141 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgiy Chanturia, chairman of the Georgian National Democratic Party, described the ouster of Gamsakhurdia as popular uprising against the dictatorship. He said at a Moscow press conference that Gamsakhurdia was doomed and could not hold out for more than two weeks. He can cause bloodshed but not civil war, said Chanturia. He believes, however, that a political solution is nearly impossible.

The leader of the Georgian National Democratic Party said that the CIS did not have a right to interfere in Georgia's affairs. Chanturia spoke against the CIS, which he views as an attempt to salvage the crumbling empire.

He added that if his party triumphs at the election, its first task will be to withdraw foreign troops from Georgia.

Touching on South Ossetia, Chanturia emphasized that this is Georgian land and that the Ossets residing there have a right to autonomy.

Speaking about the possible role of Shevardnadze in Georgia, Chanturia said that Shevardnadze did not have to be president. "He can help from Moscow as a private citizen," said Chanturia.

Groups Clash Near Kutaisi

LD1701232492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Fighters of the militarized organization lead by Jaba Ioseliani, member of the Georgian Military Council, have disarmed a group of 100 people sent by Zviad Gamsakhurdia to Kutaisi. A column of 2,000 supporters of the former president, mainly women, has set out to march from Kutaisi to Zugdidi. Their goal is to put psychological pressure on the town's residents. According to the latest reports, this column has stopped over 15 km away from Kutaisi and then began to head to (Bordadi).

Supporters Stopped Near Kutaisi

LD1801023492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0130 GMT 18 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krolikov]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan (TASS)—On Friday evening 2,500 supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia tried to penetrate Kutaisi, Tengiz Sigua, acting prime minister of Georgia, told TASS by telephone at midnight today. However, they were stopped by Kitovani's guards. According to Sigua, several people were wounded.

Casualties in Kutaisi Denied

LD1901001292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2105 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] The press center of the Georgian Interior Ministry: Reports broadcast by Central TV on a demonstration dispersed in Kutaisi on January 17-18 and resulting casualties are not true to reality. The statement circulated on January 18 by local mass media also says: The situation remains tense in Kutaisi. Curfew has not been lifted. Units of National Guard and Mkhedrioni [as received] detachments have arrived here from Tbilisi. According to the information of the press center, only order-keeping forces have been left behind in Tbilisi.

Pickets have been set up along the road leading from Western Georgia to Kutaisi, where armed detachments of Gamsakhurdia's supporters had arrived from Abkhazia and Mingrel Region. On January 18, a clash occurred between them and national guardsmen. Warning shots were fired from both sides. There were no wounded. According to unconfirmed reports, an armed detachment of Gamsakhurdia's supporters on January 18 left Samtredia for Zugdidi, the press center of the Interior Ministry reported.

Ioseliani on Situation in West

LD1801115892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1058 GMT 18 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 18 Jan (TASS)—Political ways of preventing a civil war in Georgia have not been exhausted, Professor Dzhaba Ioseliani, one of the leaders of the Republic's Military Council, declared this morning in a telephone interview with a TASS correspondent. Together with a detachment of the provisional government's armed forces, he arrived yesterday by air in western Georgia, where supporters of ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia are concentrated.

"Although we possess sufficient military force and equipment," he said, "we are giving the opposing side the opportunity to avoid fratricidal bloodshed. The task, primarily, is to explain to the population of the region where Gamsakhurdia's influence has been particularly great, the inhuman essence of this fascist-type dictator, who is inciting peaceful people, women, and even children to carry out provocative acts."

By way of confirmation, Dzhaba Ioseliani cited the example of an incident yesterday in which several thousand Gamsakhurdia supporters, on their way from Zugdidi where the ex-president has established his base, gathered at the settlement of Kopitnari near Kutaisi. We managed to explain to people that their march was futile, as Gamsakhurdia's policies had brought nothing good to the people of Georgia, the professor said. He also flatly rejected reports in some of the media that weapons had been used against the marchers, and that some had been injured.

Describing the situation in western Georgia, Dzhaba Ioseliani stated that the situation in Kutaisi and the nearest towns was calm and that no armed incidents had occurred there in the past 24 hours.

Supporters Demand Weapons

LD1801151392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1426 GMT 18 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 18 Jan (TASS)—Representatives of Zviad Gamsakhurdia today gave subunit commanders an ultimatum that all military weaponry of the military units stationed in western Georgia be handed over. If this ultimatum is not fulfilled within 24 hours, the ex-president's supporters are threatening to seize the weapons by force.

As the Georgian information agency "FAKT" reports, representatives of the overthrown Georgian president have requested military support from the authorities of Chechenya and Kabardino-Balkaria. According to information coming in, Gamsakhurdia's divisions, which are being mobilized in west Georgia, are experiencing a severe shortage of firearms. According to some reports they are prepared to accept volunteers from the north Caucasus, who wish to stand under the ex-president's banner.

March on Tbilisi 'Delirium'

LD1801113292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1005 GMT 18 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vitaliy Dzhibuti]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan (TASS)—Tengiz Sigua, acting prime minister of Georgia, has called the possibility of a march on Tbilisi by supporters of the Republic's ex-president "delirium." In a telephone conversation with a TASS correspondent today he noted that "despite the fact that demonstrations in Zugdidi in support of Zviad Gamsakhurdia are continuing, his activities in Georgia will last at most a week."

According to information from the head of the provisional government, the former president is supported in only three or four areas of the Republic. As soon as he feels that he "is in a dead end, then he will immediately try to escape, most probably to Groznyy." Yesterday in Kutaisi and Samtredia, Gamsakhurdia's supporters were dispersed when trying to hold demonstrations in his support. An opposition headquarters has been set up in Kutaisi now, and this is in complete control of the situation in the town, Sigua reported. According to him "the political situation in the capital of Georgia is normal."

Tengiz Sigua said that the Georgian provisional government will this evening sign a resolution on the first stage of land reform. According to the document, every peasant will be given free of charge up to a hectare of land (previously it was up to 0.25 hectares). Apart from this, cooperative allotments will be made the property of the workers.

The government has prepared privatization measures. In the first place this affects trade and domestic service enterprises. They will begin to be transferred as private property from 1 February. In order that the Republic's institutions of higher education may be given full autonomy, their fixed assets are being made their property, Tengiz Sigua said. The decision of the former president on the personal appointment of the rectors of higher education institutions has also been repealed—this function has been transferred to professorial councils. According to the government leader, the salaries of workers in budget enterprises, pensions, and student grants in higher and secondary education institutions have been raised.

Activists Face 'Strict Measures'

LD1801233592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] The situation in Georgia remains tense. This is what our correspondent Irga Dekanasidze reports from Tbilisi.

[Dekanasidze] Groups of people who support Zviad Gamsakhurdia are continuing to escalate the tension, calling for confrontation and disobedience by the people, ignoring the state of emergency and curfew introduced in Tbilisi, and violating public order. The Military Council of the Republic of Georgia has instructed Procurator General (Vakhtang Razmadze), security chief (Anzor Maysuradze), and MVD head (Roman Gvinzadze), in accordance with the state of emergency and the existing legislation, to apply the most strict measures toward people who violate public order. (Major Giloanchava), commandant of Tbilisi, said that citizens who stage mass gatherings and who, by doing this, intentionally violate the existing legislation, will be arrested and brought to trial.

At the Tbilisi railway building 32 Gamsakhurdia supporters are continuing their long-term hunger strike. Their main demand is the return of the ousted president. Due to the fact that the majority of the population of Kutaisi recognizes the provisional government of the Republic of Georgia, the former president sent a large group of his supporters from a number of regions of western Georgia to Kutaisi to stage meetings.

An APC and about 100 armed people were also sent to Kutaisi. The column was halted by the militia and the national guards of Tengiz Kitovani, 15 km from Kutaisi. They were told to go back because of the curfew and state of emergency which have been introduced in Kutaisi and which prohibits all kinds of meetings and demonstrations.

The representatives of the Military Council and of the commandant's office of Kutaisi revealed that the Gamzakhurida supporters fired into the air. They were no casualties. After several hours those who came dispersed. The situation remains tense.

Roundup of Situation

LD1901001092

[Editorial Report] Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1651 GMT carries a Tbilisi-datelined item by TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov reporting that around 30 Kalashnikov submachineguns with cartridges, two 100-millimeter caliber artillery systems, and shells for these were seized today by supporters of Zviad

Gamsakhurdia as a result of an armed attack on a military unit in the town of Ochamchir [Western Georgia]. An attack aimed at seizing weapons also took pace in the town of Poti, during which two people died and several were wounded. This was reported at a news conference by Tengiz Sigua, prime minister of the republic's provisional government.

At 1653 GMT on 18 January TASS Russian carries a further report by Kochetkov from Tbilisi which says that the town of Samtredia, which is a major Transcaucasian railway junction, has been taken, as planned, by the Military Council of the Republic of Georgia. This was accomplished today by 1800 local time without a single shot being fired. The town had been under the control of armed supporters of ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia for several days.

Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1545 GMT on 18 January broadcasts a telephone report monitoried in progress by IPRINDI news agency correspondent Zrabu Dvari, who says that Georgian Provisional Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua held a news conference in Tbilisi at 1630 today. Sigua said that whereas the provisional government is in full control of the capital and the western regions of Georgia, the situation in the West remains extremely difficult. However, in Kutaisi, power is the hands of the Military Council and the city commandant. Gamsakhurdia supporters have been active in only four regions. On 17 January, they tried in vain to seize the military headquarters in Poti, an anti-submarine cruiser, and the airport. Two people were killed and several of the attackers wounded. A fuel depot has been taken.

A Commonwealth military site in the town of Ochamchire was again attacked by opponents of the new government and two automatic weapons seized.

On 18 January another attempt was made to attack a military target and seize arms. According to Sigua, Dvari says, Gamsakhurdia's formations have less than a tenth of the armaments possessed by the provisional government, so "the call to civil war is nothing other than political adventurism." The provisional government is trying to encircle Gamsakhurdia.

On 19 January the Samtredia railway will reopen. There are two ships with 7,000 tonnes of wheat in Poti port, but the port is virtually under blockade. Sigua said the Airport will soon be controlled by the provisional government, and that Gamsakhrudia is trying to return to Chechnya, since no western country will take him. There is only enough bread for a month to six weeks, and the sugar and butter situation is worse.

The news conference heard that Turkmenia will be supplying fuel from a number of the republics of the former Union. Dvari says that destatization and privatization is set for 1 February. Tonight, a land reform resolution will be promulgated. The first stage of the handover of land to the peasants is expected to be completed in March. Diplomatic relations are to be established with several western countries.

Kitovani on Peace Prospects

LD1901000892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2105 GMT 18 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Tengiz Kitovani, one of the leaders of the Georgian Military Council: Peace will return to Zugdidi in three or four days. Kitovani also told PF: In spite of the fact that the ex-president has supporters in Western Georgia, there are all grounds for the situation here to fully normalize in future. Kitovani stressed that the new leadership is doing all to avoid bloodshed. According to Kitovani, Gamsakhurdia draws his biggest support from prefects and prefecture staff who do not want to lose their jobs and privileges. Kitovani told PF that, according to preliminary information, Gamsakhurdia himself is either in Sukhumi or Gali, calling the local population to disobedience. His family is in Groznyy, the number of his armed followers does not exceed three hundred, they are only armed with light automatic firearms.

Referring to the events in Samachablo, Kitovani noted that Ossetians had split into those who believe that the war in the region should be brought to an end and peace negotiations should be started with the interim government of Georgia (they have followed Torez Kulumbegov), and a faction led by Anatoliy Chekhoyev, endorsing a continued armed confrontation with the Georgian side. Kitovani says that the Abkhaz leadership looks with understanding at the course taken by the interim government of Georgia.

Sigua Holds News Conference

LD1901043792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1545 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] This is Mayak Radio. We continue to report on events in Georgia. Over to Zrabu Dvari, a correspondent for the independent agency IPRINDA:

[Dvari] Good evening!

[Announcer] Hello!

[Dvari] Tengiz Sigua, acting prime minister, held another news conference at 1630 today in the former building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia where the provisional government is now based.

He briefly informed those assembled of the political and economic situation that has taken shape in the Republic. Tengiz Sigua reported in particular that whereas the provisional government is in full control of Tbilisi and eastern areas of Georgia, the situation in the west remains extremely difficult. Nevertheless, in Kutaisi, the second largest city, power is in the hands of the military council and city commandant. Kitovani's fighters of the Mkhedrioni entered Samtredia and Vani without a fight. Tengiz Sigua noted that Gamsakhurdia's supporters had stepped up their actions in only four regions. The ex-president enjoys the most active support in Zugdidi, Signakhi, Samtredia, and Poti.

Unfortunately, attacks on military installations of the Commonwealth have become more frequent. Thus, on 17 January, the supporters of Gamsakhurdia tried to seize the military headquarters in Poti, an anti-submarine warship, and the airport. The attack was rebuffed. Two people were killed as a result of the exchange of fire and several of the attackers were wounded.

The supporters of the former government hijacked a truck carrying three tonnes of sugar. Armed formations of Zviad Gamsakhurdia are in a tourist center building in Poti. Tengiz Sigua said that the organizers of all these actions come from this town. A fuel depot has been taken in Zugdidi. A Commonwealth military site in the town of Ochamchire was again attacked by opponents of the new government and two automatic weapons seized. On 18 January another attempt also was made to attack a military target with a view to seizing arms.

Nevertheless, Tengiz Sigua stated that the number of arms which Gamsakhurdia's formations have at their disposal is less than a 10th of the armaments possessed by the provisional government, so the call to civil war is nothing more than political adventurism, the prime minister stated. In an attempt to avert a fratricidal war, the provisional government is trying to encircle Gamsakhurdia and to isolate him.

It was announced at the news conference that the Samtredia rail junction will resume operation on 19 January. The port in the city of Poti also will begin to operate. There are two ships with 7,000 tonnes of wheat in the port of that city today, but due to the illegal actions of the locals from that city, the port is virtually under blockade. Sukhumi airport is also in the hands of the supporters of Gamsakhurdia. Sigua gave assurances that the airport's operations will soon be controlled by the provisional government.

Tengiz Sigua stated that after active operations, Zviad Gamsakhurdia will most likely return to the Chechen Republic since no Western country, nor the United States, has agreed to grant him political asylum.

That is as far as the political situation is concerned. The situation in the economy is not any easier either. There are still bread reserves but only for a month or a month and a half. The situation as far as sugar and butter are concerned is more complex.

The fuel problem is acute. Depite all the difficulties, the news conference heard that there is already an agreement with Turkmenia to supply fuel, and with a number of other republics of the former Union, too.

Destatization and privatization are set for 1 February. There is already a list of enterprises which will be privatized in the first instance.

It is planned to promulgate tonight a land reform resolution. The first stage of the handover of land to the peasants is expected to be completed in March.

The Constitution of 1921 will be restored. Apart from this, the news conference heard of the beginning of the regulation of diplomatic relations with a number of Western countries.

The news conference concluded on this note.

Zrabu Dvari, from the independent IPRINDA Agency, specially for Mayak.

Troops Sent to Zugdidi, Poti

OW2001160292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian "Government troops" are to enter Zugdidi and Poti on January 20, IF [INTERFAX] was told at the press-center of the ruling Military Council. The government troops include also units of a paramilitary organization called Mhedrioni and units of the National Guard loyal to the government. The press-center did not expect armed clashes to break out in Zugdidi and Poti where the ousted president Zviad Gamsakhurdia enjoys a strong support among local population.

Supporters Challenged in Zugdidi

LD1901191292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia in west Georgia today continued their attempts to seize weapons from units of the Soviet Army. A report that Gamsakhurdia intends to leave Georgia has not yet been confirmed.

According to the new Georgian Government, during Gamsakhurdia's rule the level of production in the republic fell by 40 percent, due primarily to the disruption of communications between enterprises and suppliers outside Georgia.

On Saturday 2,000 inhabitants of Ochamchire in West Georgia, including women and children, blockaded troop units. Gamsakhurdia's personal representative demanded that the unit commander hand over all weapons, including artillery. Conflict was miraculously avoided, although the previous day two guns and more than two dozen automatic weapons were stolen from this unit.

[Correspondent Tengiz Blokiya] The opposition, which seized power as a result of armed action and which spread its influence over the greater part of the Republic with relative ease, is coming up against serious resistance in Zugdidi. According to a statement by members of the provisional government, the National Guard could seize the city, yet one ought not to forget that the president's supporters are quite well armed and are full of resolve to fight as before.

According to unofficial reports, Zviad Gamsakhurdia is in Sukhumi, and, as asserted by people close to his entourage, he has no intention of going anywhere. He intends to continue the struggle for his return.

Gamsakhurdia Said To Leave

OW2001165492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1615 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to reports from the Georgian National Democratic Party's [GNDP] representation in Moscow, in the morning of January 20 Zviad Gamsakhurdia left Georgia. A GNDP spokesman Georgiy Zumbadze said that the former president is possibly in Groznyy (Chechen).

Zumbadze said that on Monday [20 January] units of the national guard and paramilitary organization "Mkhedrioini" subordinated to the Military Council entered the cities of West Georgia Zugdidi, Poti, and Vani. There have been no reports on their clashes with Gamsakhurdia's supporters.

Bid for Safe Passage Reported

OW2001215192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1820 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Premier of the Georgian temporary government Tenghiz Sigua told a news conference in Tbilisi Monday [20 January] that emissaries of the ousted president Zviad Gamsakhurdia have put forward a proposal not to prevent Gamsakhurdia from leaving for one of the Western countries. The republican Military Council has sent a delegation to Zugdidi for talks with Gamsakhurdia's supporters. Sigua pointed out that Gamsakhurdia's supporters in West Georgia had been urged to stop confrontation and withdraw armed units from Zugdidi. Sigua said that talks in Zugdidi must be fruitful, and that means stabilization of the situation in Poti and Sukhumi.

Sigua also said that since January 12 seven states have recognized the new government of Georgia. He noted that on Monday he had a conversation with Chairman of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov who congratulated the Georgian democratic forces on the victory.

Tengiz Sigua added that the republican leadership considers the referendum in South Ossetia as "a farce which will bring no concrete results." He referred to Russia's confirmation that it has no territorial claims to Georgia.

Sigua on Whereabouts

LD2101121592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] At 0400 today Zviad Gamsakhurdia left Sukhumi for Zugdidi. This was reported to a TASS correspondent in a telephone conversation by Tengiz Sigua, head of the Republic's temporary government. This was done, according to him, after an unsuccessful attempt by Gamsakhurdia to fly from the capital of Abkhazia to Groznyy. According to data which has not yet been confirmed, the airplane which came for him from the Chechen Republic was unable to land at the airport due to bad weather conditions.

Tengiz Sigua also told the TASS correspondent that talks are beginning today between representatives of the present Georgian leadership and Gamsakhurdia's supporters. Our terms are that Gamsakhurdia should resign and leave the territory of Georgia, said the head of the provisional government of Georgia. Dzhaba Ioseliani, member of the republic's Military Council and leader of the Mkhedrioni Association, will take part in the talks on behalf of the provisional administration, while Volter Shurgaya a deputy of the Georgian Supreme Soviet will take part on behalf of Gamsakhurdia's supporters.

He also said that after armed detachments entered the town of Abasha near Zugdidi, the provisional government decided to halt their further advance. This was done to avoid possible bloodshed and to create preconditions for success at the forthcoming talks, Tengiz Sigua explained. In his words, Gamsakhurdia only enjoys support in Zugdidi and among some of the inhabitants of Sukhumi and Poti.

Situation Returning to 'Normal'

LD2001163792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Petre Chkheidze, permanent representative of the Republic of Georgia in Moscow, told our correspondent today that the situation in the republic is gradually returning to normal. The railways have already started functioning. Contrary to a number of reports this has all been achieved without armed clashes.

Petre Chkheidze stressed that at first sight it would seem that only rallies in support of Gamsakhurdia are taking place. In actual fact those who support the temporary government are simply obeying its appeal not to hold rallies of their own so as to avoid new clashes and casualties.

Supporters To Continue Struggle

AU2101110492 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Here are several pieces of news from Abkhazia.

On 19 January the Abkhaz Supreme Council building in Sukhumi was placed under increased guard. When asked what the reason for this was by our correspondent in Sukhumi, Vladislav Ardzinba, chairman of the Abkhaz Supreme Council, stated: The building has been placed under increased guard because there are approximately 40 armed persons in the Council of Ministers' rest home [dasasvenebeli sakhli] in Sukhumi who are supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

When asked if Zviad Gamsakhurdia had phoned him during the last few days, Vladislav Ardzinba said: He has not phoned and I have had no contact at all with him.

When asked if he has been in touch on the phone with Batoni Tengiz Sigua, Vlasdislav Ardzinba stated: I have been in touch with Batoni Tengiz Sigua several times during the last few days. When asked what his relations are with Batoni Tengiz Sigua, Ardzinba replied: Two doctors of sciences (?can) find a common language.

Yesterday, in a conversation with our correspondent, Merab [name indistinct], deputy commander of the National Guard battalion that is in the Council of Ministers' rest home in Sukhumi, said: They haven't even thought about seizing the Abkhaz Supreme Council [building] and, in general, have no intention of occupying any building in Sukhumi.

Yesterday, in Sukhumi, in the Republic of Georgia Council of Ministers' rest home, Zurab Kopalia, the republic's former minister of trade, and Zviad Gamsakhurdia's two plenipotentiaries, Amiran [name indistinct] and Gocha (?Bakhtia] held a press conference in which local journalists and those from Moscow and abroad participated. They pointed out that they would continue the struggle to enable Zviad Gamsakhurdia to control the whole territory of Georgia. In response to the question as to when Zviad Gamsakhurdia would appear before the journalists, the organizers of the press conference stated that it was possible that he would make a statement for the press in the next few days, although they gave no precise date.

Polls Open for South Ossetian Referendum

LD1901105892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0820 GMT 19 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 19 Jan (TASS)—A referendum is being held today in South Ossetia on two issues: "Do you agree that the South Ossetian Republic should be independent?"; and "Do you agree with the decision made by the Supreme Soviet of the independent Republic of South Ossetia on 1 September 1991 on reunification with Russia?"

According to the information committee press center, special points opened their doors at 0700 local time in Tskhinvali, Dzhavskiy Rayon and partially in Tskhinvali and Znaurskiy Rayons, where the inhabitants of South Ossetia will have to express their attitude toward the issues at stake. A total of 100,000 refugees, as well as students who are on the territory of North Ossetia, are taking part in the referendum. Six polling stations have been set up for them in Vladikavkaz and other populated areas.

Observers have arrived in South Ossetia from neighboring regions of the Caucasus. The leadership of the South Ossetian Republic has informed the provisional government of the Georgian Republic beforehand of its intention to hold a referendum. There has been a negative response to the referendum in Tbilisi. In particular, the Georgian Foreign Affairs Ministry has made an official statement which says that the Republic will not yield its territory, and will prevent the reunification of South Ossetia with Russia.

In the meantime, the situation is very tense in South Ossetia. Isolated shots rang out on the far approaches to Tskhinvali and in Zaurskiy Rayon last night. Georgian fighters were firing from the nearby villages. Tskhinvali is in the tight ring of an economic, energy, transportation, and food blockade. Nevertheless, the population of South Ossetia, in the observers' view, intends to firmly reaffirm its positions—it is only for the independence of South Ossetia from Georgia, and its reunification with Russia.

Originally it was planned that all the polling centers on the territory of South Ossetia would be open from 0700 until 2000 local time. But because the populated areas of the Republic are lacking electricity, all the polling stations for the referendum will be open until 1600. The first results of the referendum will be known at a later time.